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THE CASE FOR THE LABOUR PARTY

A HANDBOOK OF
FACTS & FIGURES
FOR WORKERS



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FOREWORD.

I have been trying to find a good substitute for a very hackneyed phrase, but cannot, so here goes. This booklet supplies a long-felt want. Socialist and Labour Party speakers, mostly plain working folk, often feel the need for some handy reliable compendium of facts and figures upon which they can draw for material for a speech. Well, here it is at last. But here I would venture upon a hint to budding orators. Don't overload your speech with figures. An audience soon tires of a long string of badly assorted statistics hurled at them in almost unintelligible array. Philip Snowden, it is said, can make the multiplication table as interesting as a færy tale, but I do not know anyone else who can. A speaker should soak himself in the facts of his case, but should be chary of the way in which he lets them loose upon an unoffending audience. Bright, pointed handling of up-to-date topics, illustrated by facts and figures, and leading up to the need for, and benefits of, direct independent Labour representation is the sort of oratory most likely to win converts.

This little volume will be a veritable godsend to many an earnest soul; the work of compilation has been done by Mr. H. R. Stockman, and the pages which follow testify to the painstaking ability with which he has performed his task.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

October, 1909.

THE STATE.

WHO GOVERN ?

The House of Lords.

Of the 615 peerages at present in existence no less than 430 have been created since 1830. The numbers created by the two parties during the last 79 years are :—

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Liberal Ministries | ... | ... | 249 |
| Tory Ministries | ... | ... | 181 |

In the 79 years under review the Liberal Party was in office 45 years as against 34 years for the Conservatives. Thus, for each party the number of creations is about the same, viz., a fraction over five each year of office.

Lunatics, idiots, and bankrupts, while expressly debarred from the Lower House, are not disqualified from sitting in the Lords. The quorum necessary to conduct business is three members, but no division can be taken unless 30 are present.

THEIR POLITICS.

Despite the claim that it is a non-partisan revising Chamber, it has to be admitted that the House of Lords is entirely dominated by the Tory Party, whose interests it exists to promote.

According to the *Constitutional Year Book* (published by the National Union of Conservative Associations), the political complexion of this non-partisan Chamber is as follows :—

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 459 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 102 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Politics not stated | | | ... | 42 |
| Minors | ... | ... | ... | 11—615 |

So that on their own showing there are only 42 members of the Upper House able to claim that detachment from political partisanship necessary for a revising Chamber.

THEIR LAND INTERESTS.

In an article on the House of Lords in the *Constitutional Year Book* for 1909 we read :—

“ The House of Lords is sometimes rather invidiously referred to as consisting wholly of great landowners. They necessarily form its majority, and it is well that they should thus be secured an organ in the State.”

The total acreage of the United Kingdom is estimated at 77,000,000, with a rent roll of £100,000,000. Of this, Members of the House of Lords own 16,411,986 acres, with a rental of £13,542,620. Here are a few of the largest landowners who have seats in the House of Lords :—

| | ACRES. |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Duke of Sutherland ... | 1,358,545 |
| *Duke of Buccleuch ... | 469,108 |
| Earl of Breadalbane ... | 438,358 |
| Earl of Seafield ... | 305,930 |
| Duke of Fife ... | 249,220 |
| Duke of Richmond ... | 280,409 |
| Duke of Portland ... | 183,189 |
| Duke of Northumberland | 186,397 |
| Duke of Devonshire ... | 198,572 |
| *Duke of Argyll ... | 175,114 |
| Marquis of Conyngham | 166,710 |
| Marquis of Donegal ... | 162,996 |
| Duke of Hamilton ... | 157,386 |
| Marquis of Lansdowne ... | 142,916 |
| *Earl of Dalhousie ... | 138,021 |
| Marquis of Sligo ... | 122,902 |
| Marquis of Downshire ... | 120,189 |
| Marquis of Bute ... | 116,668 |
| Earl Fitzwilliam ... | 115,742 |
| Earl of Stair ... | 116,370 |
| Baron Leconfield ... | 109,935 |
| *Earl Home ... | 106,550 |
| Duke of Montrose ... | 103,447 |
| *Earl Cawdor ... | 101,657 |

* These Scottish landlords voted against the Scottish Land Valuation Bill because it touches their pockets.

The foregoing figures of acreage owned are based upon the only official publication available—the *New Domesday Book*, issued in 1875.

THEIR LIQUOR INTERESTS.

In November, 1908, the *Daily Chronicle* compiled and published an incomplete return of the liquor interests of the Peers. Out of 200 companies, the list of shareholders of only 40 were examined. Even this limited examination disclosed the names of 140 Peers who held shares in brewing firms, either as trustees or in their own right, to the extent of £2,416,000. In November, 1908, the fate of the Licensing Bill was decided, not in the revising Chamber, but at an informal gathering of Tory Peers at Lansdowne House. On November 28th, it came before the House of Lords and was rejected by 272 votes to 96. Of the 140 Peers known to hold shares in breweries 61 were present and voted against the Bill. Its rejection was moved by Lord Lansdowne, a shareholder in Bass's and Watney's.

The following are the names of the more prominent Peers, together with the concerns in which they are shareholders :—

Lord Ardilaun (Guinness).

Lord Avebury (Meux; Watney; Whitbread).

Lord Burton (Bass).

Marquis of Clanricarde (Ind Coope).

Lord Colville (Charrington; Watney).

Viscount Downe (Cannon; Manchester; Hoare).

Earl Fitzwilliam (Whitbread).

Lord Iveagh (Guinness; Watney).

Lord Knaresborough (Worthington).

Marquis of Lansdowne (Bass; Watney).

Earl Lovelace (Barclay; Watney).

Lord Manners (Watney; Cannon; Meux; Barclay; Hoare).

Duke of Newcastle (Stones).

Duke of Northumberland (Spiers and Pond).

Lord Revelstoke (Whitbread; Watney; Guinness; Bristol Georges; Bass).

Lord Rothschild (Worthington; Watney; Truman; Guinness; Meux).

Duke of Roxburghe (Watney).

Duke of Sutherland (Bristol Georges).

Earl Waldegrave (Cannon).

Earl Willoughby de Broke (Hoare).

Lord Wenlock (Watney; Bass).

THEIR FINANCIAL INTERESTS.

Examination of the *Directory of Directors* for 1909 reveals the fact that 201 members of the House of Lords are Directors of Public Companies. The total number of directorates held is 502. The names, politics, and ages of peers holding five or more directorates are :—

| TITLE. | AGE. | DIRECTO- | |
|--------------------------|--------|----------|--------|
| | | PARTY. | RATES. |
| Lord Airedale ... | ... 75 | Liberal | 6 |
| Lord Armstrong ... | ... 46 | Tory | 7 |
| Lord Balfour of Burleigh | 60 | Tory | 9 |
| Rev. the Earl of Bess- | | | |
| borough ... | ... 58 | Tory | 9 |
| Marquis of Breadalbane | 58 | Liberal | 6 |
| Earl of Chesterfield ... | ... 55 | Liberal | 18 |
| Lord Cottesloe ... | ... 79 | Tory | 5 |
| Earl of Denbigh ... | ... 50 | Tory | 9 |
| Lord Faber ... | ... 62 | Tory | 5 |
| Lord Farrer ... | ... 50 | Liberal | 8 |
| Lord Gifford ... | ... 60 | Tory | 13 |
| Lord Glantawe ... | ... 74 | Liberal | 5 |
| Lord Harris ... | ... 58 | Tory | 5 |
| Lord Hillingdon ... | ... 54 | Tory | 8 |
| Lord Kinnaird ... | ... 62 | Tory | 6 |
| Lord Knollys ... | ... 72 | Tory | 5 |
| Lord Pirrie ... | ... 62 | Liberal | 13 |
| Lord Rathmore ... | ... 71 | Tory | 9 |
| Lord Ribblesdale ... | ... 55 | Liberal | 10 |
| Lord St. David's ... | ... 49 | Liberal | 12 |
| Lord Strathcona ... | ... 89 | Tory | 7 |
| Duke of Sutherland ... | ... 58 | Tory | 8 |
| Marquis of Tweeddale | 83 | Liberal | 12 |
| Lord Vaux ... | ... 49 | Liberal | 8 |
| Earl of Verulam ... | ... 57 | Tory | 7 |
| Lord Welby ... | ... 77 | Liberal | 5 |
| Lord Wenlock ... | ... 60 | Tory | 5 |
| Lord Winterstoke ... | ... 79 | Liberal | 5 |

WHAT THEY HAVE DONE.

- 1831.—Rejected first Reform Bill.
- 1839.—Carried resolution against establishment of an Education Department.
- 1842.—Mutilated the first Mines Regulation Bill, which would have protected women and children.
- 1871.—Defeated Bill providing for ballot in Parliamentary Elections.
- 1873-1880.—Refused to allow Nonconformist Burial Services in Churchyards.
- 1884.—Rejected Bill for Enfranchisement of County Householders.
- 1893.—Mutilated Employers' Liability Bill by introducing "Contracting Out" and other clauses.
- 1893.—Rejected the principle of "Betterment" in a London County Council Bill, by which London Landlords would be rated for the improvement of their own property.
- 1905.—Rejected proposal for running trams over London Bridges and along Thames Embankment.
- 1906.—Rejected Plural Voting Bill.
- 1906.—Destroyed Education Bill.
- 1906.—Carried an amendment excluding Scotland from provisions of Feeding of School Children Bill.
- 1906.—Rejected Bill prohibiting Importation of Foreign Blacklegs during Strikes.
- 1907.—Rejected Scottish Land Valuation Bill.
- 1907.—Rejected Scottish Small Holdings Bill.
- 1908.—Rejected the Licensing Bill.

HOW THEY "REVISE" LEGISLATION.

When Tory Governments are in power little or nothing is heard of the claim of the House of Lords as a revising Chamber. In the ten years of Tory rule from 1895 to 1905 the "right to revise" was only seriously exercised once, and then—on the Irish Land Bill of 1903—in defence of their own pockets. Here is a list of the principal measures dealt with in the period, with the time devoted to them in both Houses, and their ultimate fate :—

- 1897.—Workmen's Compensation Bill; debated in Commons 14 days, and passed through Lords in 4.
- 1898.—Irish Local Government Bill, controversial measure, revolutionising local government in Ireland; debated in Commons 25 days, and passed through Lords in 4.
- 1899.—London Government Bill, established London Borough Councils; debated 18 days in Commons, and passed in Lords after 4 days' debate.
- 1902.—Education Bill, highly controversial measure, uprooting Educational system and abolishing School Boards; debated in Commons for 58 days, and passed through Lords in 10.
- 1903.—Irish Land Bill, pledging British credit to buy out the Irish landlords; debated in Commons 20 days, in Lords 7, and passed.
- 1904.—Licensing Bill; debated in the Commons 19 days and in the Lords 6, and passed.
- 1906.—Education Bill (Liberal measure); debated in Commons 30 days, in Lords 23 days, and mutilated.
- 1908.—Licensing Bill (Liberal measure); debated in Commons 31 days, and rejected by Lords after 3 days' debate.

"RUIN" BEFORE "REVISION."

The absurdity of the claim of the House of Lords to be a Revising Chamber was never more clearly demonstrated than during the passage of the Trades Disputes Bill. The peers openly proclaimed their hatred of the measure, but they shrank from revising or rejecting it on the strange plea that though it might ruin the country their failure to pass it might result in even a greater calamity—the abolition of the House of Lords. "Ruin the country but save the Lords" was their motto. Speaking on December 4th, 1906, LORD LANS-DOWNE said of the Bill that it would "bring ruin, bodily suffering, and mental anguish to individuals, and occasion loss, damage, and inconvenience to the community as a whole. . . . We are passing through a period when it is necessary for this House to move with very great caution. Conflicts, controversies may be inevitable, but let us at any rate, so far as we are able, be sure that if we join issue we do so upon ground which is as favourable as possible to ourselves. In this case I believe the ground would be unfavourable to this House, and I believe the juncture is one when even if we were to win for the moment our victory would be fruitless in the end. I say, then, that so far as I am concerned I shall not vote against the Bill. I regard it as conferring excessive privileges upon the trade unions, as conferring dangerous privileges on one class and on one class only, privileges in excess of what the most trusted exponents of their views have formerly asked for, privileges fraught with danger to the community and likely to embitter the industrial life of this country; but I hold also that it is useless for us, situated as we are, to oppose this measure. If, however, we allow it to pass this House, we have at any rate the right to say that we disclaim all responsibility for its provisions, and to express our hope that the common sense of employers and employed may prevent any untoward consequences from attending the reign of licence which the recklessness of His Majesty's Government is about to inaugurate."

SOME CANDID OPINIONS.

“ We owe the English peerage to three sources—the spoliation of the Church, the open and flagrant sale of its honours by the elder Stuarts, and the borough-mongering of our own times. Those are the three main sources of the existing peerage of England, and in my opinion disgraceful ones.”—DISRAELI in *Coningsby*.

“ A man becomes enormously rich, or he jobs successfully in the aid of a Minister, or he wins a great battle, or executes a treaty, or is a clever lawyer who makes a multitude of fees and ascends the Bench; and the country rewards him for ever with a gold coronet (with more or less balls or jewels) and a title and a rank as legislator. ‘ Your merits are so great,’ says the nation, ‘ that your children shall be allowed to reign over us in a manner. It does not in the least matter that your eldest son is a fool; we think your services so remarkable that he shall have the reversion of your honours when death vacates your noble shoes.’ ”—W. M. THACKERAY.

“ Let us concede that Guinness sells good stout, Bass and Allsop good ale—is that any reason why Lords Ardilaun and Iveagh and Burton and Hindlip and their successors for all time should have the right to sit in judgment over the legislative work of the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom?”—MR. HOWARD EVANS in *Our Old Nobility*.

The House of Commons.

ITS INTERESTS.

The *Constitutional Year Book* for 1909 gives the following as the composition of the House of Commons at the end of 1908 :—

Landed Interest (composed of Landowners and sons of Peers and Landowners) :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 50 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 36 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 3—89 |

Official Services (composed of Ministers and ex-Ministers, ex-Officers of the Army and Navy, and representatives of Civil, Diplomatic, Indian, and Colonial Services) :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 143 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 154 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 8—305 |

Legal Profession (Barristers, Advocates, and Solicitors) :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 44 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 109 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 18—171 |

Bankers and Bank Directors :—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 8 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 8—16 |

Merchants and Manufacturers :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 91 |
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 25 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 3—119 |

Coal and Iron Interests :—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 14 |
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 5—19 |

Shipping Interests :—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 14 |
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 11—25 |

Liquor Interests (Brewers, Distillers, Wine Merchants, etc.) :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| Nationalists | ... | ... | ... | 7—16 |

Company Directors and Promoters :—

| | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Liberals | ... | ... | ... | 9 |
| Tories | ... | ... | ... | 4—13 |

Labour Interest (composed of Manual Workers and Trade Union Officials) :—

58 out of a total of 670 Members.

GOVERNMENT BY FAMILY.

The hereditary principle is not confined to the House of Lords. We find it manifested in Liberal and Tory Cabinets. During the last fifty years certain well-known families seem to have established a right (divine or otherwise) to the spoils of office. For example, the Cecils. For the last twenty years we have had Government of the People by the Cecils. They have virtually controlled the Cabinet, the following offices having been held by members of the family for various periods :

Prime Minister.

First Lord of the Treasury.

Lord President of the Council.

Lord Privy Seal.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Secretary of State for War.

Secretary of State for India.

Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Secretary for Scotland.

President of Board of Trade.

President of Local Government Board.

Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Since 1860, when the late Lord Salisbury was first called to office, the Cecils have drawn in salaries the following amounts :

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Late Lord Salisbury | £96,500 |
| Present Lord Salisbury ... | 9,500 |
| A. J. Balfour ... | 78,200 |
| Gerald W. Balfour ... | 37,375 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total ... | £221,575 |
| <hr/> | |

The little item against the name of Mr. Gerald W. Balfour includes the pension of £1,200 a year, to obtain which he had to sue in *forma pauperis* to his brother, the late Premier.

In compiling this return care has been taken, and if it errs at all it is on the side of moderation. Wherever there has been a doubt the Cecils have been given the benefit.

Other families who have had more than their share of office, and have dipped deeply into the public purse, are :—

THE PALMERS.

(Father and son—one a Liberal, the other a Tory.)

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Late Earl Selborne (Liberal) | £103,000 |
| Present Earl Selborne (Tory) | 54,000 |
| Total | £157,000 |

THE GLADSTONES.

(Father and Son.)

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| W. E. Gladstone | £115,000 |
| H. J. Gladstone | 25,000 |
| Total | £140,000 |

THE FITZMAURICES.

(Brothers—one a Liberal, the other a Tory.)

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Marquis of Lansdowne (Tory) | £193,020 |
| Baron Fitzmaurice (Liberal) | 14,000 |
| Total | £207,020 |

THE CAVENDISHES.

(Brothers and Nephew.)

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Late Duke of Devonshire | £82,700 |
| Late Lord Frederick Cavendish | 5,000 |
| Present Duke of Devonshire | 6,100 |
| Total | £93,800 |

THE CHAMBERLAINS.

(Father and Son.)

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Joseph Chamberlain | £52,000 |
| J. Austen Chamberlain | 21,500 |
| Total | £73,500 |

THE HARCOURTS.

(Father and Son.)

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| Late Sir William Harcourt | £54,500 |
| Lewis V. Harcourt | 10,000 |
| Total | £64,500 |

OUR GOVERNING FAMILIES.

The foregoing paragraphs do not reveal the whole truth concerning the extent to which the government of the Empire is a monopoly of certain powerful families. Not content with the power already held by them, most of our noble families have strengthened their power by marrying into other governing families. Take the Cecils for example, their influence is not limited to that wielded by the Marquis of Salisbury. By marriage this family is related to Earls Derby, Durham, de la Warr, Eldon, Selborne, Wharncliffe, and Baron Berkeley.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is related to the Marquises of Linlithgow and Waterford, the Duke of Devonshire, Earls Ilchester, Bessborough, Powys, Suffolk, and Baron Digby.

Amongst other less ancient, but equally powerful families, there is that of Baron Lyttelton, which is closely related to four of our great territorial lords—the Duke of Devonshire, Earls of Shrewsbury and Brownlow, and Viscount Cobham. Of the seven brothers of the present Baron, one is in the army—Sir Neville Lyttelton, Commander of the Forces in Ireland; one (now dead) was Bishop of Southampton; one, Dr. Edward Lyttelton, is Headmaster of Eton; one was Private Secretary to the late W. E. Gladstone; two others follow the Law and the Church; whilst the seventh, the Hon. Alfred, is a politician, and was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Tory administration.

WHAT LABOUR HAS TO FIGHT.

Some idea of the magnitude of the forces arrayed against Labour may be gathered from the fact that, according to the *Daily Express*, the following interests were represented in the vigorous campaign waged against the Miners' Eight Hours Bill in 1908:—

The Railway Companies' Association, representing interests valued at over £1,000,000,000.

The British Iron Trade Association, representing nearly every iron and steel manufacturer in the United Kingdom.

The Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, representing interests valued at £150,000,000.

The Gas Protective Association, on behalf of practically every gas company in the United Kingdom.

In Parliament these interests made their influence felt. In the Commons the most active opposition came from prominent Tories like Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. J. F. Mason, Hon. A. Lyttelton, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, and Lord Castlereagh. It is significant that all of these gentlemen are directly associated with the interests enumerated above. Lord Castlereagh, who was particularly prominent in the attempt to wreck the measure, is a director of the Londonderry Collieries Ltd., of which his father, Lord Londonderry, is Chairman. Mr. Mason is a member of the British Iron Trade Association, and is director of four companies, including two of those in the Bell Bros. amalgamation. Mr. Stuart-Wortley is director of eight companies, including two associated with the Railway Companies' Association, which took part in the campaign against the Bill. Mr. Bonar Law is director of six companies, two of which are large consumers of coal. Mr. Arnold Lupton, a Liberal opponent, is a director of the Tinsley Park Colliery Company.

In the Lords the opposition was led by Lord Londonderry, Chairman of the Londonderry Collieries Ltd., and Lord Newton, a peer deriving a large income from mining royalties.

The Electorate.

PROPORTION OF ELECTORS TO POPULATION.

The following table shows the proportion which the number of electors in each of the principal countries bears to the population :

| | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------|------|
| France | ... 27.9 | Norway | 19.9 |
| Switzerland | 23.5 | Austria | 19.9 |
| Greece | ... 23.0 | Portugal | 19.0 |
| Spain | ... 22.4 | Britain ... | 16.5 |
| Belgium | ... 21.5 | Denmark | 16.4 |
| Germany | 21.2 | Servia ... | 16.0 |
| Bulgaria | 21.2 | Holland | 16.0 |

Considering our claim to be the most democratic country in the world, the position of Britain does not compare very favourably with that of such countries as Spain and Bulgaria. It is easier, however, in this country for public opinion to assert itself than in any of the other countries.

WORKING CLASS ELECTORS.

To arrive at anything like an accurate estimate of the total working-class vote in the United Kingdom is an impossibility. It is estimated that the working classes form three-fourths of the total population, but it would not be wise to assume that they form three-fourths of the electorate, because votes are not distributed evenly between the working and other classes. Plural voting tends to give the "upper ten" more than their share of the voting power, whilst the floating character of the working class population tends to give them less than their share. Making allowance for these and other factors, it would be a safe estimate to say that whilst the workers form three-fourths of the population, they constitute two-thirds of the electorate. The total electors of the United Kingdom in 1908 was given as 7,514,481. Two-thirds of this would be 5,009,654, which we may take as the approximate number of electors belonging to the working classes. These figures, of course, do not include women, as despite the enormous part played by women in the ordinary industrial and social life of the nation, the sex is debarred, as a sex, from participation in direct political effort.

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.

The Taxes.

INDIRECT TAXATION.

The following amounts were raised by Indirect Taxation during the years ending March 31st, 1908, and 1909 :—

| | 1908. | 1909. |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Customs ... | £32,490,000 | £29,158,000 |
| Excise ... | 35,720,000 | 33,691,000 |
| Stamps ... | 7,970,000 | 7,827,000 |
| Post Office Profits | 4,773,000 | 4,754,000 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | £80,953,000 | £75,430,000 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |

DIRECT TAXATION.

The following amounts were raised by the Direct Taxes during the same periods :

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Estate Duties | £19,070,000 | £18,310,000 |
| Land Tax and | | |
| House Duty ... | 2,690,000 | 2,651,000 |
| Income and Pro- | | |
| perty Tax ... | 32,380,000 | 33,709,000 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | £54,140,000 | £54,670,000 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |

FOOD TAXES.

According to the *Journal* of the Royal Statistical Society for 1908, the following amounts per head of population were raised from Food Taxes in 1906 :—

| | | | s. | d. |
|--------------------|-----|-----|----|----|
| Germany ... | ... | ... | 9 | 10 |
| France ... | ... | ... | 8 | 3 |
| United Kingdom ... | ... | ... | 6 | 5 |
| United States ... | ... | ... | 3 | 5 |

WHO PAY TAXES?

In an article in the *Daily News* of April 8th, 1907, Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., divides the population into four classes and gives a table showing the proportion of the income of each class taken by the State in the form of taxes.

Working and Lower Middle Classes
(38,750,000 people) :—

Aggregate Income £880,000,000

Paid in Taxes ... 6.2 per cent.

Middle and Upper Middle Classes
(4,000,000 people) :—

Aggregate Income £250,000,000

Paid in Taxes ... 7.7 per cent.

The Well-to-do (1,750,000 people) :—

Aggregate Income £340,000,000

Paid in Taxes ... 8.9 per cent.

The Very Rich (75,000 people) :—

Aggregate Income £240,000,000

Paid in Taxes ... 7.9 per cent.

TAXATION IN PENCE.

Again, sub-dividing these classes into five, Mr. Money shows the amount each pays in taxation for each £1 of income received :—

A.—Very Rich :— s. d.

75,000 people, each with an

income of over £5,000

per annum 1 7

B.—Well-to-do :—

1,750,000 people with in-

comes from £700 to £5,000

per annum 1 9½

C.—Middle and Upper Middle
Classes :—

4,000,000 people with incomes

from £160 to £700 per

annum 1 6½

D.—Working and Lower
Middle Classes :—

38,750,000 people, nil to

£160 per annum ... 1 3

E.—Working Classes :—

33,000,000 people, out of

Class D. 1 5

This includes all forms of taxation—death duties, income tax, house duty, stamp duties, liquor duties, tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoa taxes, and even the Post Office profits are taken into account.

How the Taxes are Spent.

DEBT AND DEFENCE.

The following table shows how our taxes have been spent since 1870. Of every £1 raised the following sums have been spent in the way indicated :—

| Years. | Army and Navy. | | National Debt. | | Total. | |
|-----------|----------------|----|----------------|----|--------|----|
| | s. | d. | s. | d. | s. | d. |
| 1870-74 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 15 | 10 |
| 1875-80 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 15 | 6 |
| 1881-86 | 7 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 15 | 1 |
| 1887-92 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 14 | 4 |
| 1893-95 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 13 | 7 |
| 1896-1901 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 13 | 5 |
| 1902-06 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 10 |
| 1907-08 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 13 | 6 |

The balance of each £1 has been spent on all other national charges.

THE NAVY.

During the past 10 years British expenditure on the Navy has increased by £9,500,000; that of France has remained practically stationary; Germany has increased by £13,000,000; and the United States by £19,000,000, as shown by the following table :—

| Year ending | Britain. £ | France. £ | Germany. £ |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1900 ... | 25,073,250 | 12,144,023 | 6,672,788 |
| 1902 ... | 30,981,315 | 13,107,701 | 9,530,383 |
| 1905 ... | 36,859,081 | 12,513,143 | 10,102,740 |
| 1910 ... | 35,142,700 | 13,353,855 | 19,538,188 |
| | Russia. £ | Italy. £ | U.S.A. £ |
| 1900 ... | 8,396,560 | 4,617,034 | 9,840,812 |
| 1902 ... | 9,359,766 | 4,912,661 | 16,012,438 |
| 1905 ... | 11,949,966 | 5,000,000 | 20,180,310 |
| 1910 ... | 10,028,831 | 6,751,291 | 28,778,777 |

Japan is rapidly following in the wake of Europe in the matter of naval expenditure. In 1906 it spent £3,952,311; last year (1908) the amount increased to £8,094,884, equivalent to more than 100 per cent.

British naval expenditure still exceeds that of any two European powers. This year France and Germany (an unlikely combination) are spending £32,892,043 as against our £35,142,700.

WHY SOME PEOPLE WANT "DREADNOUGHTS."

A "Dreadnought" burns 40 tons of best coal per hour. Landlords draw royalty of 1s. 3d. per ton. Every "Dreadnought" means £40 per day to the royalty owner. Perhaps that is why Lord Londonderry and some of his friends "Want eight and won't wait!"

THE ARMY.

Since 1880 the course of British Army Expenditure has been :—

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1880 | ... | ... | ... | £15,025,000 |
| 1890 | ... | ... | ... | 17,361,000 |
| 1895 | ... | ... | ... | 17,900,000 |
| 1901 | ... | ... | ... | 43,000,000 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 29,225,000 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | 28,850,000 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 27,765,000 |
| 1908 | ... | ... | ... | 27,115,000 |

PROUD PENSIONERS.

The following politicians who have publicly protested against pensions for the aged workers are themselves enjoying handsome pensions :—

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Viscount Cross | ... | ... | £2,000 |
| Lord George Hamilton | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| Right. Hon. Henry Chaplin | ... | ... | 1,200 |
| Lord Balfour of Burleigh | ... | ... | 1,200 |
| Right Hon. Gerald Balfour | ... | ... | 1,200 |

Before obtaining a Pension for Political services each applicant must submit to the Treasury a statement "not only of the services performed . . . but of the inadequacy of his private income to maintain his station in life."

In addition to these political pensions the following peers are in receipt of pensions for more or less valuable services rendered to the State by their ancestors :—

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Lord Rodney | ... | ... | ... | £2,000 |
| Lord Nelson | ... | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| Viscount Hardinge | ... | ... | ... | 3,000 |
| Viscount Gough | ... | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| Lord Raglan | ... | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| Lord Napier of Magdala | ... | ... | ... | 2,000 |
| Heirs of Duke of Schomberg | ... | ... | ... | 720 |

The Municipalities.

THEIR "DEBT."

The following table shows the "indebtedness" of some of the larger municipalities. In only one case—Sheffield—is the debt not fully covered by substantial assets, and even in that case if the assets included a sum of £171,935 due to the Council on account of loans advanced to other local authorities, the apparent deficit would give place to an actual surplus of £155,126. In many boroughs the surpluses might be considerably increased in this way.

| Borough. | Total Liabilities. | Total Assets. | Difference. |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|
| | £ | £ | £ |
| Birmingham ... | 15,504,675 | 16,094,897 | 590,222 |
| Blackburn ... | 3,105,114 | 3,661,584 | 556,470 |
| Bradford ... | 7,597,824 | 9,515,736 | 1,917,912 |
| Brighton ... | 2,180,520 | 2,263,495 | 82,975 |
| Bristol ... | 5,253,728 | 7,435,467 | 2,181,739 |
| Cardiff ... | 3,562,731 | 3,739,349 | 176,618 |
| Halifax ... | 3,215,381 | 3,521,653 | 306,272 |
| Huddersfield ... | 3,610,367 | 3,849,811 | 239,444 |
| Hull ... | 2,840,892 | 3,970,565 | 1,129,673 |
| Leeds... .. | 11,079,003 | 12,189,873 | 1,110,830 |
| Leicester ... | 4,310,104 | 4,620,602 | 310,498 |
| Liverpool ... | 13,642,871 | 22,666,284 | 9,023,413 |
| Manchester ... | 20,195,829 | 25,590,975 | 5,395,146 |
| Newcastle ... | 2,919,089 | 3,656,880 | 737,791 |
| Nottingham ... | 6,466,041 | 7,446,182 | 980,141 |
| Oldham ... | 2,833,980 | 3,367,787 | 523,807 |
| Salford ... | 3,456,508 | 3,942,258 | 485,750 |
| Totals ... | 111,764,658 | 137,533,159 | 25,748,701 |
| Sheffield ... | 8,165,824 | 8,149,075 | — 16,809 |
| Total ... | £119,930,482 | £145,682,174 | £25,731,892 |

WHAT THEY ARE DOING.

About 95 per cent. of the Local Governing Bodies in England and Wales provide public services such as the following :—

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Baths | Harbours |
| Burial Grounds | Markets |
| Canals | Milk Depôts |
| Cold Stores | Piers |
| Concert Rooms | Racecourses |
| Docks | Telephones |
| Electricity Works | Tramways |
| Gasworks | Toll Bridges |
| Waterworks | Working Class Dwellings |

MUNICIPAL CLUBS.

Birmingham is the first municipality to try to find for its citizens a counter-attraction to the public-house. During the winter months the Corporation swimming baths are fitted up as Social Clubs and thrown open each evening for the free use of the populace. People come and go as they please, very much as they visit a public library, and they amuse themselves with billiards, bagatelle, cards, chess, dominoes, etc., or a musical visitor may take advantage of the piano to entertain the company. The place is made bright with evergreens from the parks, and pictures decorate the walls. Once the initial outlay is got over the Clubs are entirely self-supporting. Small charges are made for the use of the air-gun ranges, billiards, bagatelle, and cards, and under these heads one of the Clubs contributed last season, after meeting all expenses, £39 14s. 6d. towards the balance due upon original equipment. The Clubs are largely frequented by the working classes, and there can be no doubt they are instrumental in keeping men out of the public-house.

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' SHORTER HOURS.

Municipalisation means shorter hours for the workers. In 12 large centres the hours worked by tramwaymen are :—

| | Under Company Management. | Under Municipal Management. |
|------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| London | ... 77 to 91 | ... 60 |
| Liverpool | ... 91 to 105 | ... 60 |
| Manchester | ... 70 | ... 54 |
| Glasgow | ... 77 to 98 | ... 54 |
| Leeds | ... 81 | ... 60 |
| Sheffield | ... 102 | ... 60 |
| Birmingham | ... 90 to 100 | ... 60 |
| Birkenhead | ... 91 | ... 65 |
| Bolton | ... 78 | ... 60 |
| Bradford | ... 70 to 80 | ... 60 |
| Hull | ... 80 | ... 60 |
| Sunderland | ... 84 | ... 60 |

MUNICIPAL v. PRIVATE CONTROL.

Gasworks.

The Official Returns relating to Gas undertakings in the United Kingdom for the year 1907-8 demonstrates the superiority of publicly owned works over private companies by the following comparisons :

| | Local Authorities. | Companies. |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Average price per 1,000 ft. | 2s. 5d. | 2s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. |
| Return per cent. on Capital | 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ |

Tramways.

Similarly, the statistics relating to Tramway undertakings show :—

| | Local Authorities. | Companies. |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Average fare per passenger | 1.04d. | 1.23d. |
| Return per cent. on Capital | 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

Electricity.

For Electrical undertakings no complete Returns are available; but from the incomplete statistics the *Electrical Times* has compiled the following summaries, which may be taken as fairly accurate :—

| | 12 London Local Authorities (1905-6). | 13 London Companies (1905). |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Average price per unit | ... 2.63d. | 3.08d. |
| Working Expenses per unit | 1.28d. | 1.55d. |
| Gross Profit per cent. of Capital | ... 5.69 | 6.53 |

| | 196 Provincial Local Authorities (1905-6). | 70 Provincial Companies (1905). |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Average price per unit | ... 2.08d. | 2.71d. |
| Working Expenses per unit | 0.99d. | 1.47d. |
| Gross Profit per cent. of Capital | ... 7.15 | 4.79 |

A RESULT OF COLLECTIVE ACTION.

The following figures give the death-rate per million from certain diseases and testify to the benefit gained by the general community from the Public Health Acts, conferring powers on local authorities with respect to sanitation, etc. :—

| Disease. | 1871-5. | 1901-5. |
|----------------------------------|--------------|----------|
| Small Pox | ... 410.8 | 25.4 |
| Measles | ... 373.3 | 325.8 |
| Scarlet Fever | ... 758.6 | 125.8 |
| Enteric Fever | ... 373.8 | 112.6 |
| Phthisis | ... 2,218.0 | 1,215.8 |
| Diarrhœa, Dysentery, and Cholera | ... 1,031.0 | 677.8 |
| All causes | ... 21,962.4 | 16,004.6 |

FAILURE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

Speaking at the annual meeting of Brunner, Mond and Co., at Liverpool, in June, 1907, Sir John Brunner, M.P., said : " I have been one of a Royal Commission visiting the North of France, Belgium, and Northern Germany, and our duty has been to examine what those three countries have done in the improvement of their canals and their waterways. We have been very deeply impressed by what we have seen, and I can tell you to-day, speaking as a man of business to men of business, that the fact that in those three countries there is communal effort—that is to say, that the State acts as a whole, using the whole power of the State in money and in credit for the benefit of the national trade—has brought to those three countries enormous, almost incalculable, benefits; and I think that any man, any intelligent man, who studies this matter as I have studied it for a great many years, will come to the conclusion, as I have come very clearly and decidedly, that the old policy which we have adopted for generations of leaving all public works to private enterprise—the old policy, so called, of *laissez faire*—is played out completely, and I am of opinion, very firmly, that, if we mean to hold our own in matters of trade, we must learn to follow the example that has been set us not only by France, Belgium, and Germany, but by the United States and by every one of the Colonies of our Empire. Everywhere do you find that trade is helped by the effort of the community, by the force of the State, and I shall be very heartily pleased if those who hear me will think the matter over and decide for themselves whether or not we as business people—pre-eminently the business people of the world—are to maintain the old policy of leaving everything to private enterprise, or whether we are to act together for the good of all in this important matter of the national trade."

THE INDIVIDUAL.

“ Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all our great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . a condition in which the food, warmth and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper’s grave. . . . When the organisation of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment.”—Late PROFESSOR HUXLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888.

“ Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence or of existence at all but what it derives from its own labour and abstinence, there would be no ground for complaint against society if everyone who was willing to undergo a fair share of this labour and abstinence could obtain a fair share of the fruits. But is this the fact? Is it not the reverse of the fact? The reward, instead of being proportioned to the labour and abstinence of the individual, is almost in an inverse ratio to it. Those who obtain the least, labour and abstain the most.”—JOHN STUART MILL, *Fortnightly Review*, 1879, p. 226.

The Child.

INFANT MORTALITY.

From the 1907 report of the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages and Deaths :

“ In the course of the 40 years ended in 1900 the corrected death-rates at all ages had fallen by about 15 per cent.” (from nearly 21 to only 14 per 1,000); “ but no such corresponding reduction could be recorded in the proportion of deaths of children under one year of age, the average ratio to total births having been fairly constant in each decennium.” (In 1838-42 the average annual infant mortality rate was 152, and in 1900 it was 154.) “ It will be seen, however, that since the beginning of this century the rate of infantile mortality has, with fluctuations, shown an appreciable decline.”

The figures are as follows :—

NUMBER OF INFANTS DIED PER 1,000 UNDER ONE YEAR.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1901 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 151 |
| 1902 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 133 |
| 1904 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 145 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 118 |

“ It is a fair assumption that this may, in part, be due to the increasing attention the subject of the waste of infant life has received from all classes of the community ; but at the same time it should be pointed out that the country has recently experienced a series of seasons favourable to infant life ; for example, the showery and exceedingly cool summer in the year under review checked the rise in the mortality from diarrhoeal diseases that usually occurs in the third quarter of the year in a remarkable manner.”

“ Of the total mortality under one year of age, an average of about 30 per cent. takes place in the first month of life, and of the deaths at this early period about three-fourths are due to a group of conditions—premature birth, congenital defects, atrophy, debility, and inanition—which may be described under the heading ‘ Immaturity,’ and are connected with social conditions.”

DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR (PER 1,000).

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Nottinghamshire | ... | ... | 146 |
| Lancashire | ... | ... | 138 |
| Glamorganshire | ... | ... | 136 |
| Durham | ... | ... | 135 |
| Staffordshire | ... | ... | 133 |
| Yorkshire (West Riding) | ... | ... | 131 |
| Yorkshire (North Riding) | ... | ... | 127 |
| Warwickshire | ... | ... | 126 |
| Monmouthshire | ... | ... | 126 |

“ Speaking broadly, excessive waste of infant life is generally associated with a high birth-rate, overcrowding, and the industrial employment of married women.”

The Summary of the Registrar-General for 1905 gives the following Infant death-rates :—

LONDON.

| <i>Well-to-do Parishes—</i> | | | Per 1,000. |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Lewisham | ... | ... | 92 |
| Hampstead | ... | ... | 94 |
| <i>Poor Parishes—</i> | | | |
| Bethnal Green | ... | ... | 151 |
| Poplar | ... | ... | 153 |
| Shoreditch | ... | ... | 167 |

THE PROVINCES.

Suburbs or wealthy residential towns—

| | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|----|
| Hornsey | ... | ... | 66 |
| Bournemouth | ... | ... | 83 |
| King's Norton | ... | ... | 89 |

Large industrial towns—

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Merthyr Tydvil | ... | ... | 193 |
| Hanley | ... | ... | 195 |
| Rhondda | ... | ... | 200 |

THE HUDDERSFIELD EXPERIMENT.

In 1906 Alderman Broadbent, J.P., then Mayor of Huddersfield, promised £1 to every baby born in Longwood on the completion of its first year.

The first Report states :—

“ The infant mortality figure for the 39 completed weeks of the present year is 85; at the corresponding period of last year the figure was 138.”

“ During the third quarter of the year, in 76 towns, the infant mortality figure was 110. In Huddersfield it was 62, or 44 per cent. lower. This means that there are 26 more children living in Huddersfield than would have been the case if they had died here at the rate which obtained in the 76 towns. This in 13 weeks.”

THE CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS.

Mr. Thomas Jones, one of the Poor Law Commission's investigators, in his Report on Dundee, states that in 336 cases of infant mortality it was found from inquiries that of the mothers—

- 207 or 61.6 per cent. had worked regularly after marriage;
- 38 or 11.3 per cent. had worked partially;
- 71 or 21.1 per cent. had worked before but not after marriage;
- 20 or 6 per cent. did not work before or after marriage.

Inquiries made amongst 245 who had worked after marriage gave the following result :—

| Children Born. | Number Dead. | Number Living. |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 885 | 58.8 per cent. | 41.2 per cent. |

For 91 women who did not work in factories after marriage the figures were :

| Children Born. | Number Dead. | Number Living. |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 460 | 42.4 per cent. | 57.6 per cent. |

The same investigator also reported that “in 1904 Dundee headed the list of fifteen principal towns in Scotland with an infant death-rate of 174 per 1,000.”

The children of wage-earning and non-wage-earning mothers were weighed with the following results :—

- Infants of mothers working up to time of birth weighed on average 3,000 grms.
- Infants of mothers resting during last weeks weighed on average 3,290 grms.
- Infants of mothers leading home life with no hard labour weighed on average 3,368 grms.

The connection between the infant death-rate and married women's work is also shown by the following figures for 1901 :—

| | Average Death-rate per 1,000 of infants under one year. | Percentage of married or widowed women occupied. |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| Burnley, Preston, and Blackburn ... | 200 | 34.0 |
| Oldham, Bolton, and Bury ... | 167 | 20.0 |
| Swansea, Lincoln, and Cardiff ... | 155 | 8.3 |
| Barrow-in-Furness, Burton and Newport | 139 | 6.6 |

FACTS FROM BIRMINGHAM.

In the 1908 Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham some striking facts regarding Infant Mortality are given, of which the following are a selection:—

1.—*Five Poor Wards in the centre of the city—*

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| St. Stephen's ... | ... | ... | 214 |
| St. Mary's ... | ... | ... | 208 |
| Market Hall ... | ... | ... | 208 |
| St. Bartholomew's ... | ... | ... | 201 |
| St. Paul's ... | ... | ... | 201 |

2.—*Six Wards further out—*

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|
| Edgbaston and Harborne ... | ... | 93 |
| Balsall Heath ... | ... | 104 |
| Saltley ... | ... | 105 |
| Bordesley ... | ... | 107 |
| Rotten Park ... | ... | 117 |
| Ladywood ... | ... | 117 |

Infant mortality in Birmingham and in three large and semi-rural districts near Birmingham:—

| | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Birmingham ... | ... | 144 |
| Erdington ... | ... | 91 |
| Handsworth ... | ... | 90 |
| King's Norton ... | ... | 86 |

Out of 285 deaths of children in one year in Birmingham, 252 were bottle-fed only, 26 were bottle- and breast-fed, 7 were breast-fed only.

RESULT OF OVERCROWDING.

George Newman's "Infant Mortality" gives the following figures for the Metropolitan Borough of Finsbury, 1905, showing the relation between overcrowding and infant mortality:—

| Tenement consisting of | Deaths per 1,000. |
|--|----------------------|
| One room ... | 219 |
| Two rooms ... | 157 |
| Three rooms ... | 141 |
| Four rooms ... | 99 |
| Institutions and houses of more than four rooms ... | 37 |

WHAT PROPER FOOD MEANS TO CHILDREN.

The effect of adequate feeding on the growth of children is given in Councillor J. H. Palin's pamphlet, "Bradford and its Children" (from the Report for 1907):—

"It was found by carefully weighing each child every week that they gained in weight on an average 49 oz. per child. During the same period 40 children taken from the same school, who were fed at home, only gained 20 oz. From May 15th to 27th, being the Whitsuntide holiday, no meals were given, and on weighing the children on their return to school, it was found that they had lost on an average 1 lb., while during the same period the control children had gained half a pound. The cost of the dinners since they have been given on a large scale is 1¼d. per head for *food only*—with administrative charges added the cost works out at 2d.

FACTS FROM DUNDEE.

Mr. Thomas Jones, who visited Dundee for the Poor Law Commission, says in his report (p. 257):—

"Of the boys between 10 and 14 years, 17.7 are at work; of girls, 16.4. The demand for men's labour in the jute trade would have to be three times as great as it is in order to absorb all the lads engaged in it. Nearly every second woman between the ages of 35 and 45, more than every third between 45 and 55, and every fourth woman over 55, is a wage-earner outside her own home. The birth-rate is below the average of the principal town districts in Scotland, whilst the death-rate is above the average. The infantile mortality is much above the average of the principal towns, being 152.4 per 1,000 for 1902-6."

In 1899 Mr. H. J. Wilson, H.M. Factory Inspector for Dundee, measured and weighed 169 boys and girls with a view to comparing them with the normal:—

| Age. | Height. | | Weight. | |
|-----------|---------|---------|---------|--------|
| | Dundee. | Normal. | Dundee. | Normal |
| 11 to 12 | Inches. | Inches. | lbs. | lbs. |
| Boys ... | 50.0 | 53.5 | 62.8 | 72.0 |
| Girls ... | 51.5 | 53.0 | 63.0 | 68.1 |
| Age | | | | |
| 14 to 15. | | | | |
| Boys ... | 54.0 | 59.0 | 70.5 | 72.0 |
| Girls ... | 55.7 | 59.7 | 77.5 | 96.1 |

The Adult.

AVERAGE HEIGHTS.

In the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), Colonel Napier gives evidence of the rapid physical improvement resulting from even a few months of decent food :—

MEASUREMENT OF CLASS OF 22 RECRUITS.

On commencement, average age 19 years 11 months; on completion, average age 20 years 6 months.

| | On commencement. | | On completion. |
|-----------|------------------|-----|----------------|
| Height | ... 5ft. 4½in. | ... | 5ft. 4½in. |
| Weight | ... 9st. 2lbs. | ... | 9st. 8lbs. |
| Chest | ... 33½in. | ... | 35⅜in. |
| Forearm | ... 10in. | ... | 10⅞in. |
| Upper-arm | ... 10⅞in. | ... | 12⅛in. |

The following tables were put in evidence before the Scottish Commission by Dr. Clement Dukes :—

| Age last Birthd'y. | The Rich. Height. | Weight. | The Poor. Height. | Weight. |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|
| 10 | 53.4in. | 67.4lbs. | 50.52in. | 66.31lbs. |
| 16 | 66.4in. | 128.3lbs. | 62.93in. | 108.70lbs. |
| 20 | 69.13in. | 152.0lbs. | 66.31in. | 130.60lbs. |
| 23-30 | 69.06in. | 155.2lbs. | 66.68in. | 139.00lbs. |

Thus it will be seen that at the age of 22 the working man is 2in. shorter and nearly 20lbs. lighter than his more fortunate brother.

For these tables 7,855 boys and men between the ages of 10 and 30 of the artisan class—town population, and 7,709 boys and men between the ages of 10 and 30, of the most favoured classes of the English population—public school boys, naval and military cadets, medical and university students, were weighed and measured, the averages taken and compared. The height was taken without shoes; the weight includes 9lbs. of clothes.

REJECTED RECRUITS.

The Inspector-General of Recruiting, in his 1909 Report, gives the following as the number of men who have been rejected by the Recruiting Sergeants :—

| Year. | No. Examined. | No. Rejected. | Percentage. |
|----------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1904 ... | 71,699 ... | 24,658 ... | 34.39 |
| 1905 ... | 65,752 ... | 24,798 ... | 37.71 |
| 1906 ... | 65,128 ... | 21,923 ... | 33.66 |
| 1907 ... | 58,764 ... | 17,685 ... | 30.09 |
| 1908 ... | 61,182 ... | 17,960 ... | 29.35 |

It should be understood that these figures do not include the large number of men rejected by recruiting sergeants as obviously unfit, without being medically examined.

DETERIORATION.

Recruits rejected owing to defective teeth (from the Memorandum of Sir Wm. Taylor, 1903) :—

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------|-------|
| 1891 ... | rejections per 1,000 ... | 10.88 |
| 1892 ... | „ „ ... | 14.56 |
| 1893 ... | „ „ ... | 15.33 |
| 1894 ... | „ „ ... | 16.26 |
| 1895 ... | „ „ ... | 17.95 |
| 1896 ... | „ „ ... | 19.75 |
| 1897 ... | „ „ ... | 24.16 |
| 1898 ... | „ „ ... | 26.34 |
| 1899 ... | „ „ ... | 25.29 |
| 1900 ... | „ „ ... | 20.02 |
| 1901 ... | „ „ ... | 26.70 |
| 1902 ... | „ „ ... | 49.26 |

In 1908 the Chief Inspector of Factories reported that of 370,809 persons medically examined 6,469 were rejected as being physically unfit for work in factories.

THE HUMAN SCRAPHEAP.

“ I believe a great many employers would not take on a man at 50 if they knew. . . . Many employers will not take a man on who is the least bit grey-haired.” —Evidence of Sir Benjamin C. Browne before the Poor Law Commission.

“ Though there always were a certain number of men who were unemployed and a certain number who, from misfortune, were permanently out of work, there are now a very much larger class who fail to get employment even when trade is good, and whose condition seems to be of a far more hopeless character. They seem to be men for whom in our present high pressure industrial system there is no place.” —Evidence of Sir Benjamin C. Browne before the Poor Law Commission.

“ In many trades again it seems certain that middle-aged men are being displaced by younger men where the former cannot keep pace with the speed and alertness now required—men between 25 and 35 are preferred because they are in the prime of their working powers. In many trades, particularly engineering, boilermaking, shipbuilding, men have little chance of finding a fresh situation after 50 or even 45.”—*Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission*.

NO USE AT 25 !

After condemning the present system of employing boys till they attain to manhood and then dismissing them because “ the work performed by the boy instead of it being in the nature of training is a specialised compartment for which his sole qualification is the fact that as an instrument of production he is cheaper than a man,” the *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission* (p. 326) continues : “ We agree with Mr. Bray that while it may be doubtful how much truth there is in the often-repeated cry of ‘ too old at 40,’ there is probably good reason to believe that in many cases we might say, ‘ No use at five-and-twenty ! ’ ”

STILL YOUNG AT 80.

While the worker is considered too old at 40, the " Captain of Industry " is still considered young enough to act as a director at twice that age. Here are the ages of some of our leading railway directors :—

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|----|
| Sir John Hollams | ... | ... | 89 |
| Sir William Lowther | ... | ... | 88 |
| Sir Arthur Otway | ... | ... | 87 |
| Mr. P. H. Chambers | ... | ... | 87 |
| Mr. Alex. Hubbard | ... | ... | 87 |
| Viscount Cross | ... | ... | 86 |
| Sir Henry Oakley | ... | ... | 86 |
| Sir Henry Tyler | ... | ... | 82 |

THE CHANCES OF DEATH.

According to the Local Government Report on Public Health and Social Conditions (Cd. 4671), Clergymen are the healthiest section of the community, and Tin-miners the unhealthiest. For every 515 deaths amongst Clergymen in the years 1900 to 1902, the numbers amongst those engaged in the following occupations were :—

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Bargemen, Watermen, Lightermen, etc. | ... | ... | ... | 1,235 |
| Dock and Wharf Labourers | ... | ... | ... | 1,374 |
| Merchant Seamen | ... | ... | ... | 1,547 |
| Tailors | ... | ... | ... | 953 |
| Printers | ... | ... | ... | 935 |
| Hatters | ... | ... | ... | 1,046 |
| Toolmakers | ... | ... | ... | 1,231 |
| Nailmaking and Iron and Steel Trades | ... | ... | ... | 1,137 |
| Plumbers, Painters, Glaziers | ... | ... | ... | 1,041 |
| Slaters and Tilers | ... | ... | ... | 1,036 |
| Cotton Operatives | ... | ... | ... | 1,037 |
| Textile Dyers, Bleachers, etc. | ... | ... | ... | 1,066 |
| Pottery and Earthenware Trades | ... | ... | ... | 1,420 |
| Glass Trade | ... | ... | ... | 1,202 |
| Copper Miners | ... | ... | ... | 1,609 |
| Tin Miners | ... | ... | ... | 2,169 |
| Lead Miners | ... | ... | ... | 1,199 |
| Costermongers, Hawkers, etc. | ... | ... | ... | 1,778 |
| General Labourers | ... | ... | ... | 1,987 |
| Chimney Sweeps | ... | ... | ... | 1,240 |
| Coalheavers | ... | ... | ... | 1,144 |
| Furriers | ... | ... | ... | 1,274 |
| Brushmakers | ... | ... | ... | 1,160 |

INDUSTRIAL POISONING.

The cases of Industrial Poisoning reported to the Home Office since 1904 were :—

| Year. | | Cases. | | Deaths. |
|-------|-----|--------|-----|---------|
| 1904 | ... | 833 | ... | 66 |
| 1905 | ... | 769 | ... | 52 |
| 1906 | ... | 822 | ... | 69 |
| 1907 | ... | 769 | ... | 58 |
| 1908 | ... | 939 | ... | 78 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Total | ... | 4,132 | ... | 323 |
| <hr/> | | | | |

DRUNKENNESS.

The following statistics show the arrests for Drunkenness during the ten years 1898 to 1907, with the proportion to population :

| Year. | Arrests. | | Per 1,000 of Population. |
|-------|----------|-----|--------------------------|
| 1898 | 202,498 | ... | 6.43 |
| 1899 | 214,298 | ... | 6.72 |
| 1900 | 204,286 | ... | 6.33 |
| 1901 | 210,342 | ... | 6.45 |
| 1902 | 209,908 | ... | 6.36 |
| 1903 | 230,180 | ... | 6.90 |
| 1904 | 227,403 | ... | 6.74 |
| 1905 | 219,276 | ... | 6.42 |
| 1906 | 211,493 | ... | 6.12 |
| 1907 | 210,042 | ... | 6.01 |

LUNACY.

The Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy gives the following particulars relating to patients detained in public and private asylums in England and Wales on January 1st for the years stated :—

| Year (Jan. 1st). | No. Insane. | Percentage of Increase. | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| | | On previous Year. | Since 1899. |
| 1899 | 105,086 | — | — |
| 1900 | 106,611 | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| 1901 | 107,944 | 1.2 | 2.7 |
| 1902 | 110,713 | 2.6 | 5.3 |
| 1903 | 113,964 | 2.9 | 8.4 |
| 1904 | 117,199 | 2.8 | 11.5 |
| 1905 | 119,829 | 2.2 | 14.0 |
| 1906 | 121,979 | 1.8 | 16.0 |
| 1907 | 123,988 | 1.6 | 17.9 |
| 1908 | 126,084 | 1.7 | 20.0 |
| 1909 | 128,787 | 2.1 | 22.5 |

CAUSES OF INSANITY.

Reviewing the admissions during 1907 the Commissioners assigned "privation and starvation" as being the principal cause of 2 per cent. of the cases; "mental stress" as the principal cause of 19.3 per cent.; and the number of cases in which "mental stress" was assigned as "principal or associated" factor in producing insanity was 22.5 per cent.

SUICIDES.

The Official Returns for England and Wales show the following significant increase in the number of suicides during the years 1856 to 1906 :—

| Year. | | Number. | | Proportion per 100,000 of Population. |
|-------|-----|---------|-----|---|
| 1856 | ... | 1,314 | ... | 6.90 |
| 1866 | ... | 1,360 | ... | 6.35 |
| 1876 | ... | 1,713 | ... | 7.03 |
| 1886 | ... | 2,222 | ... | 8.07 |
| 1891 | ... | 2,459 | ... | 8.45 |
| 1896 | ... | 2,639 | ... | 8.57 |
| 1901 | ... | 3,106 | ... | 9.52 |
| 1906 | ... | 3,434 | ... | 9.94 |

DEATHS IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The Report of the Registrar-General for 1907 shows that in that year in England and Wales 98,276 deaths (or 18.75 per cent. of total deaths) were registered in Public Institutions (Workhouses, Workhouse Infirmarys, or Schools; Hospitals, Infirmarys; Lunatic and Idiot Asylums). In 1905 and 1906 the percentages were 17.61 and 18.19 respectively. Separately the figures are :—

INSTITUTIONS.

| | No. of Deaths. | | Percentage of Total Deaths. |
|-----------------|----------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| Workhouses | ... 52,673 | ... | 10.05 |
| Hospitals | ... 35,062 | ... | 6.69 |
| Lunatic Asylums | 10,541 | ... | 2.01 |

PREVIOUS PERCENTAGES.

| | 1905 | | 1906 |
|------------|----------|-----|------|
| Workhouses | ... 9.38 | ... | 9.67 |

AVERAGE OF TEN YEARS, 1897-1906.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|------|
| Workhouses | ... | ... | 8.44 |
| Hospitals | ... | ... | 5.55 |
| Lunatic Asylums | ... | ... | 1.63 |

THE HOME.

Incomes.

“ I can name twelve men whose aggregate income during the worst days of depression would suffice to maintain in comfort during the whole of one month 250,000 men, women, and children.”—Mr. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., at Swansea, October 1st, 1908.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, in the *Daily News*, April 8th, 1907, estimates the annual income of the British people at £1,710,000,000, distributed as follows amongst a population of 44,000,000 people :

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Working and lower middle classes (38,750,000 persons) | £880,000,000 |
| Middle and upper middle classes (4,000,000 persons) | £250,000,000 |
| Well-to-do classes (1,175,000 persons) | £340,000,000 |
| The very rich class (75,000 persons) | £240,000,000 |

THE RICH AND THE WAGE-EARNERS.

The amount of income assessed for Income Tax in 1901 was £833,000,000; while in 1908 it amounted to £980,000,000, an increase of £147,000,000.

On the other hand, the following table shows the increases and decreases that have taken place in the wages of the workers for the same period, according to reports issued by the Board of Trade :—

| Year. | Number of Workers affected. | Net Increase in Rates of Wages per week. £ | Net Decrease in Rates of Wages per week. £ |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1901 ... | 907,199 ... | — | 77,902 |
| 1902 ... | 883,191 .. | — | 72,865 |
| 1903 ... | 892,922 ... | — | 38,557 |
| 1904 ... | 799,959 ... | — | 39,278 |
| 1905 ... | 664,777 ... | — | 4,087 |
| 1906 ... | 1,095,601 ... | 56,728 | — |
| 1907 ... | 1,244,739 ... | 200,820 | — |
| 1908 ... | 908,627 ... | — | 61,897 |
| | | £257,548 | £294,586 |

Whilst the incomes of the rich have thus greatly increased, in seven years, the wages of the workers stand at the end of the period below the level of the beginning.

WEALTH AT DEATH.

THE MILLIONAIRES.—From 1900 to 1908, 58 millionaires died leaving estates valued at £99,591,392, or an average of £1,717,093 each.

THE WELL-TO-DO.—In the fiscal year ending March, 1908, 21,297 persons died leaving estates varying in value from £1,000 to £5,000,000, the average being £12,330 each. The following table gives particulars :—

| Number of Persons. | Aggregate Value of Estates. £ | Average Value per Head. £1 |
|-----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| 17,356 ... | 65,373,000 ... | 3,766 |
| 3,249 ... | 75,790,000 ... | 23,327 |
| 422 ... | 33,740,000 ... | 79,952 |
| 109 ... | 16,452,000 ... | 150,935 |
| 90 ... | 18,748,000 ... | 208,311 |
| 51 ... | 20,086,000 ... | 393,843 |
| 17 ... | 16,638,000 ... | 978,705 |
| 7 ... | 15,779,000 ... | 2,254,142 |

In the same period 46,232 persons died leaving estates valued at £19,688,000, or slightly over £425 each on the average.

POVERTY AT DEATH.

For the purpose of collecting estate and legacy duties all estates of £100 and upwards come under review. In 1907-8 699,533 persons died, of whom no less than 632,000 were too poor to be taxed.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE ON DEATH DUTIES.

Speaking of Death Duties, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in his book, "Problems of To-day," says :—

"It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the State, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependants, and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell."

Poverty.

Just before his death the Right Hon. Arnold-Forster, M.P., wrote a book—"English Socialism of To-day"—for the express purpose of demonstrating that there was no case for Socialism. Almost the first words of that book are: "It is true, lamentably true, that the distribution of wealth in this country is grossly unequal—so unequal that it cannot be good for the community. It is true that there is great suffering, and above all that there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who live in daily dread lest the turn of a fashion or some accident against which they can make no provision may suddenly condemn them to absolute and hopeless penury for the rest of their lives."

THE LONDON POOR.

The inquiries made by the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth show that there are about 30.7 per cent. of the population of London living in poverty. Mr. Booth divides the population into five classes:—

A.—The lower class. Occasional labourers, loafers, and some criminals.

B.—The very poor. Casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want.

C. and D.—The poor. Including alike those whose earnings are small because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work though regular is ill-paid.

E. and F.—The regularly employed and fairly paid working class of all grades.

G. and H.—Lower and upper-middle class and all above this level.

The percentage of each class is:—

| In Poverty:— | | Persons. | | Percentage. |
|-------------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------------|
| Class A. | ... | 37,610 | ... | .9 |
| Class B. | ... | 316,834 | ... | 7.5 |
| Classes C. and D. | | 938,293 | ... | 22.3 |
| Total | | 1,292,737 | ... | 30.7 |
| In Comfort:— | | | | |
| Classes E. and F. | | 2,166,503 | ... | 51.5 |
| Classes G. and H. | | 749,930 | ... | 17.8 |
| Total | | 2,916,433 | ... | 69.3 |

MR. ROWNTREE'S EVIDENCE.

PRIMARY POVERTY.

Inquiries made by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree in the City of York in 1901 bear out the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth's statistics for London. Mr. Rowntree gives a table giving the minimum necessary expenditure per week for families of various sizes :—

| Family. | Food. | Rent. | Household Sundries. | Total. |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1 Adult ... | 3s. 0d. | 1s. 6d. | 2s. 6d. | 7s. 0d. |
| Man & Woman | 6s. 0½d. | 2s. 6d. | 3s. 2d. | 11s. 8d. |
| Family of 3... | 8s. 3d. | 2s. 6d. | 3s. 9d. | 14s. 6d. |
| Family of 4... | 10s. 6½d. | 4s. 0d. | 4s. 4d. | 18s. 10d. |
| Family of 5... | 12s. 9d. | 4s. 0d. | 4s. 11d. | 21s. 11d. |
| Family of 6... | 15s. 0d. | 5s. 6d. | 5s. 6d. | 26s. 0d. |
| Family of 7... | 17s. 3d. | 5s. 6d. | 6s. 1d. | 28s. 10d. |
| Family of 8... | 19s. 6d. | 5s. 6d. | 6s. 8d. | 31s. 8d. |
| Family of 9... | 21s. 9d. | 5s. 6d. | 7s. 3d. | 34s. 6d. |
| Family of 10 | 24s. 0d. | 5s. 6d. | 7s. 10d. | 37s. 4d. |

Upon this basis Mr. Rowntree estimates that 7,230 persons (15.46 per cent. of the wage-earners and 9.91 per cent. of the total population of the city) were below the primary poverty line.

The persons belonging to families whose total weekly earnings were either below or not more than 2/- above the primary poverty line totalled to 9,542, representing 20.40 per cent. of the wage-earners or 13.09 per cent. of the total population of the city.

SECONDARY POVERTY.

Mr. Rowntree defines Secondary Poverty as applying to "families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency, were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure either useful or wasteful." He concluded that there were in York 20,302 persons, or 27.84 per cent. of the total population, living in poverty, 7,230 being below the primary poverty line, as stated above; while 13,072, or 17.93 per cent. of the population, were suffering from secondary poverty.

POVERTY IN GLASGOW.

Mr. Peter Fyfe, Chief Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow, estimates that it costs 7/10 per week per head to provide the bare necessities of life in that city, thus :—

Food 3/-

Rent 2/4

Clothing, fire, light, and

household sundries ... 2/6—7/10

This made no allowance for such comparative luxuries as travel, recreation, amusements, etc.

Enquiries made amongst 800 families in receipt of outdoor relief in Glasgow showed that after paying rent—

154 or 19 per cent. had under 2/- per head per week.

330 or 41 per cent. had under 3/- per head per week.

502 or 63 per cent. had under 4/- per head per week.

638 or 80 per cent. had under 5/- per head per week.

706 or 88 per cent. had under 6/- per head per week.

94 or 12 per cent. had 6/- and over per head per week.

These facts are set out in *Report of Poor Law Commission*, Appendix, vol. xvii.

MARRIED WOMEN'S LABOUR.

According to the census of 1901 the number of female wage-earners is given as 4,171,751, of whom 917,509 are returned as "married or widowed."

In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society on Tuesday, March 16th, 1909, Miss B. L. Hutchins gave the following statistics bearing on this question compiled from the census of 1901 :—

| Ages. | Occupied per 100 Single. | Occupied per 100 Married. | Occupied per 100 Women. |
|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 15 | 66.7 | 11.9 | 65.9 |
| 20 | 73.5 | 10.9 | 56.3 |
| 25 | 70.2 | 10.0 | 30.5 |
| 35 | 64.1 | 13.1 | 22.5 |
| 45 | 57.2 | 16.0 | 21.6 |
| 55 | 44.6 | 17.5 | 20.7 |
| 65 | 26.1 | 14.4 | 15.7 |
| 75 | 10.3 | 7.2 | 7.1 |
| All ages | 67.0 | 13.2 | 36.1 |

Of Lancashire women in the textile trade, 23.5 per cent. are married or widowed.

SWEATING IN THE HOME.

In March, 1904, an exhibition of sweated goods made by German workers was held in Berlin, an example that was copied in London, on the initiative of the *Daily News*, two years later. Among the many samples of sweated home industries on exhibition were the following, the remuneration for each class of work being indicated :—

Artificial flower making, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per doz.

Collar stud making, 3d. per doz.

Making boys' sailor suits, 1/9 per doz.

Shoe making, 8d. to 1/3 per doz. pairs.

Skirt making, 5d. each.

Match-box making, $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per gross.

Making boys' knickerbockers, 9d. per doz.

Blouse making, 2d. each.

Shirt making, $8\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 1/9 $\frac{1}{4}$ per doz.

Making chocolate boxes, 6d. per gross.

Making cigarette boxes for "British made" cigarettes, 2d. per gross.

Making strawberry baskets, 4d. per gross.

Bible folding, 1d. and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per 1,000 sheets.

Making coffin tassels, 6d. to 1/6 per gross.

Making mouse-traps, 4/3 per gross.

Making powder boxes, 2d. per gross.

Making hairpin boxes, 4d. per gross.

Military embroidery, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per monogram or initial.

Making paper bags, 6d. per 1,000.

Bib making, $4\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per doz.

Making confirmation wreaths, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. each.

Making babies' bonnets, 3d. each.

Making boys' sailor suits, 3/1 per doz. suits.

Making string bags, 1/- per gross.

CHILD VICTIMS.

Before the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into sweating, Miss Squire, a lady Factory Inspector, said that the employment of young children was prevalent in the Nottingham lace trade. It was quite a

common thing at the dinner hour to see the children busy with lace work without having stopped to take off hat or jacket. The children were given something to eat on the way back to school. In the evening also the children worked sometimes with their mothers and sometimes in neighbours' houses. It was said that children started work at four years of age, and she herself had seen children working at six years of age.

In the Birmingham metal trade children were employed at home sorting out small articles. They could be seen at night picking out hooks and eyes. Asked by the Chairman (Sir Thomas Whittaker) if the employment of children did not tend to the lowering of prices for home work, Miss Squire replied that much of the work could hardly be done unless with the aid of child labour.

A BUDGET.

"Some of the family budgets reveal the pitiful little economies which have to be practised when housekeeping is conducted on the microscopic scale necessary to the home-worker. One woman who had kept herself and little girl on a wage of 6s. per week 'for rent and everything,' gave me the following details, saying she was 'almost ashamed to tell me what she managed on, it was so little':—

| | | | s. | d. | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----------------|---------|
| Rent, one room ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | a week. |
| Tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. ... | ... | ... | 0 | 4 | „ |
| Sugar, 2 lbs. ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 | „ |
| Flour ... | ... | ... | 0 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Oatmeal ... | ... | ... | 0 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Margarine, $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Six eggs (chipped) ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Ham ... | ... | ... | 0 | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Coals ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 | „ |
| Onions or other vege- | | | | | |
| tables ... | ... | ... | 0 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Bread ... | ... | ... | 0 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | „ |
| Sundries ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 | „ |

The weekly total came to about 4/9, leaving a balance of perhaps 1/3 for clothes and other expenses."—MISS MARGARET H. IRWIN, Scottish Council of Women's Trades.

House Room.

BAD HOUSING.

“ In the course of our enquiry we personally visited and inspected a very considerable number of tenements consisting of single houses, of block dwellings and of common lodging-houses and similar buildings. As the result of these visits we are, no doubt, only repeating what is already in the mind of many when we record our opinion that unless improvement in the housing conditions of the people keeps pace with the improvement in work-places, it cannot be expected that any result commensurate with the work and money expended in the enforcement of the Factory and Workshop Acts will be obtained.”

“So far, however, as in so short a time it has been possible to come to a conclusion, we believe that Housing plays a part, and that an important part, in the creation of paupers.”—*Report of Poor Law Commission*, vol. xvi., p. 50, Report of Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland and Miss R. Squire.

The same investigators give high rents as one of the principal causes of overcrowding in London. They say “ 2/- for the smallest unfurnished ‘ slip ’ room overlooking the back court, and little more extensive than a large cupboard, 3/-, 3/6, 4/- and even more for a single unfurnished room of moderate size are prices not at all uncommon.”

HIGH RENTS.

The Board of Trade Report on Cost of Living shows that in 14 towns where the rent is represented by index numbers from 100 to 62 the percentage of population living in overcrowded tenements averages 13.78. In 14 towns with rent represented by index numbers from 61 to 58 the average is 10.47 per cent. In 13 towns the index numbers for rent are from 57 to 54, and the percentage of overcrowding is 7.01. In 16 towns where the rent is represented by index numbers from 53 to 50 the percentage of overcrowding is 6.03. In 16 towns where rents are lowest (represented by index numbers 49 to 32), only 2.55 per cent. of the population are living in overcrowded tenements.

OVERCROWDING.

According to the Census of 1901 the following proportions of the population in the understated towns were living in overcrowded tenements, that is, more than two persons to one room :—

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Glasgow | ... | ... | ... | 54.70 |
| Dundee | ... | ... | ... | 49.44 |
| Barrow | ... | ... | ... | 36.58 |
| Gateshead | ... | ... | ... | 34.54 |
| Edinburgh | ... | ... | ... | 32.94 |
| South Shields | ... | ... | ... | 32.42 |
| Newcastle | ... | ... | ... | 30.47 |
| Sunderland | ... | ... | ... | 30.10 |
| Devonport and Plymouth | | | | 19.54 |
| Carlisle | ... | ... | ... | 16.52 |
| London | ... | ... | ... | 16.01 |
| Bradford | ... | ... | ... | 14.62 |
| Halifax | ... | ... | ... | 14.55 |
| Huddersfield | ... | ... | ... | 12.88 |
| Wigan | ... | ... | ... | 13.38 |
| Darlington | ... | ... | ... | 12.46 |
| Merthyr Tydfil | ... | ... | ... | 12.15 |
| Keighley | ... | ... | ... | 11.80 |
| Middlesbrough | ... | ... | ... | 10.89 |

In Glasgow 16.2 of the population live in one-room tenements; in Dublin 24.7, and in the same city 40.60 per cent. of the population live more than two to the room. In Kilmarnock 18.9 per cent. are overcrowded; in Paisley 13.5, whilst 49.9 per cent. live in two-room tenements.

THE RESULT.

The last Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool (quoted in *Report of the Poor Law Commission*) contains the following paragraph on overcrowding in that city :—

“ The number of visits paid to sub-let houses during the night was 19,193, and during the day 80,440, with the result of finding 1,698 rooms overcrowded. In addition to overcrowding, 306 cases of indecent occupation came under the notice of the inspectors. The character of the indecent occupation may be judged from the following facts. In 161 instances one man and two women were found in the same bedroom; in 85 cases two men and one woman; in 24 cases two men and two women; and in 15 cases three men and one woman.”

THE EFFECT ON PHYSIQUE.

Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain A. Foster made elaborate investigations into the condition of 72,857 children in Glasgow, between the ages of 5 and 18, and the effect of housing upon them.

They give the results as to weights and heights, correlated with the number of rooms in the houses they live in :—

| | | | Average Weight. lbs. | Average Height. in. |
|---------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Boys from 4-roomed homes | | | 64.3 | 51.3 |
| „ 3 | „ | | 60.0 | 50.0 |
| „ 2 | „ | | 56.1 | 48.1 |
| „ 1 | „ | | 52.6 | 46.6 |
| Girls from 4-roomed homes | | | 65.5 | 51.6 |
| „ 3 | „ | | 59.9 | 49.6 |
| „ 2 | „ | | 54.8 | 47.8 |
| „ 1 | „ | | 51.5 | 46.3 |

Dr. Arkle's investigations undertaken in Liverpool for the Education Authorities show how the children of the poor are robbed of their growth. He examined 2,477 children, 366 from Secondary and the remainder from Elementary Schools. He divided the latter into three classes according to the standard of life maintained by average families in the district where the school was situated. With regard to the results he says "it is the mathematical precision with which the result is shown and the extent to which deterioration has gone that make the tables such gruesome reading."

AT 7 YEARS.

| | | Height. ft. in. | Weight. st. lbs. |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| Secondary School ... | 3 | 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 7 |
| Council School A. ... | 3 | 9 $\frac{1}{3}$ | 3 2 |
| „ B. ... | 3 | 8 $\frac{1}{3}$ | 3 1 |
| „ C. ... | 3 | 8 | 3 1 |

AT 11 YEARS.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------|
| Secondary School ... | 4 | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5 0 |
| Council School A. ... | 4 | 5 | 4 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| „ B. ... | 4 | 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 4 3 |
| „ C. ... | 4 | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3 13 |

AT 14 YEARS.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------|
| Secondary School ... | 5 | 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 6 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ |
| Council School A. ... | 4 | 10 | 5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| „ B. ... | 4 | 8 | 5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| „ C. ... | 4 | 7 | 5 1 |

By the age of 14, therefore, the poorest child in Liverpool is nearly seven inches shorter than he should be, and weighs about 23 lbs. too light.

The schoolmasters report that while 60 per cent. of the children of Classes A. and B. possess normal intelligence, the percentage of normality in C. is only 22.

Family Life.

"BREAKING UP THE FAMILY."

A memorandum prepared for the Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration by Miss A. M. Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, says of Dundee :—

"A rough estimate may be made that one-fourth of the women employed in jute mills in Dundee are married or widowed. . . . The assistant inspector sends me particulars of 144 cases where the health visitors recently found two, three, or more very young children left alone in the house (in some cases locked in) whilst the mother was at the mill, with only such food as the mother could prepare overnight or in the early morning before leaving."

ABOLISHING THE HOME.

"The whole tendency of social life to-day is towards the abolition of home. To endeavour to re-create it is, under the circumstances, a practical impossibility. The home as a home has disappeared. We still talk about it, and even feel sentimental about it (when we are a long distance away); but, as a matter of fact, the day of domesticity is past. We may deplore the fact—most thoughtful people do—but we cannot make the clock move backwards any more than we can make woman move backwards once she has been wound up. She may stop, but if she goes at all she must go forward."—*Ladies' Field*, March, 1908.

INDUSTRY.

“ If workmen do not rise from dependence upon capital by the path of Co-operation, then they must remain in dependence upon capital; the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers which cannot be passed, and the problem of their elevation is hopeless. As a body they will not rise at all. A few, more energetic or more fortunate than the rest, will from time to time escape, as they do now, from the ranks of their fellows to the higher walks of industrial life, but the great majority will remain substantially where they are. The remuneration of labour as such, skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above its present level.”—PROFESSOR J. E. CAIRNES, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 348.

Modern Developments.

THE GROWTH OF THE COMPANY.

The tendency of modern business to pass out of the hands of private firms into those of public companies is shown by the remarkable increase that has taken place in the number of registered companies in existence in Great Britain and Ireland :—

| Year. | | No. of Companies. | Paid up Capital. Thousand £. |
|-------|-----|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1885 | ... | 9,844 | 494,910 |
| 1890 | ... | 13,323 | 775,140 |
| 1895 | ... | 19,480 | 1,062,734 |
| 1900 | ... | 29,730 | 1,622,641 |
| 1905 | ... | 39,616 | 1,954,331 |
| 1906 | ... | 40,995 | 2,003,392 |
| 1907 | ... | 43,038 | 2,061,010 |

CONSOLIDATION OF THE LIQUOR TRADE.

Since 1850 the brewing industry has shown a tendency to pass from the hands of a great number of small firms into those of a smaller number of large firms :

| Year. | | | No. of Brewing Firms. |
|-------|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| 1850 | ... | ... | 44,300 |
| 1860 | ... | ... | 39,948 |
| 1870 | ... | ... | 32,682 |
| 1880 | ... | ... | 21,346 |
| 1890 | ... | ... | 11,364 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | 6,447 |
| 1903 | ... | ... | 5,692 |

BRITISH TRUSTS.

Mr. John A. Hobson gives the following list of British Trusts in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* :—

| Name. | Capital. £ | No. of Firms Com- bining. |
|--|---------------|------------------------------------|
| The Salt Union ... | 2,400,000 | 64 |
| United Alkali ... | 8,420,000 | 51 |
| J. and P. Coats ... | 10,000,000 | 5 |
| W. Cory and Son (coal) | 2,650,000 | 8 |
| English Sewing Cotton | 3,000,000 | 15 |
| Fine Cotton Spinners, etc. | 6,650,000 | 31 |
| British Dyewoods and Chemicals ... | 570,000 | 4 |
| Bradford Dyers ... | 4,225,000 | 22 |
| Aberdeen Comb ... | 300,000 | 3 |
| Rickett, Cockerell and Co. (coal) ... | 900,000 | 2 |
| Yorkshire Indigo Dyers | 468,000 | 11 |
| Bradford Coal Association | 249,000 | 8 |
| British Oil and Cakes Mills ... | 1,750,000 | 17 |
| Yorkshire Wool Combers | 1,965,800 | 38 |
| Barry Ostlere and Shep- herd ... | 984,000 | 3 |
| United Indigo and Chemicals ... | 240,000 | 8 |
| Textile Machinery Asso- ciation ... | 290,000 | 7 |
| Calico Printers Associa- tion ... | 8,226,000 | 47 |
| Wall Paper Manufacturers | 4,141,000 | 31 |
| British Cotton and Wool Dyers ... | 1,492,480 | 46 |
| Yorkshire Dyeware, etc. | 294,000 | 5 |
| Bleachers' Association | 6,791,000 | 53 |
| Portland Cement Manu- facturers ... | 6,349,000 | 30 |
| Rivet, Bolt and Nut Co. | 550,000 | 15 |
| United Velvet Cutters ... | 140,000 | 5 |
| Extract Wool and Merino | 270,000 | 7 |
| J. and J. Baldwin ... | 752,000 | 5 |
| Leeds Worsted Dyers ... | 226,000 | 10 |
| Imperial Tobacco Co. ... | 14,510,000 | 13 |

According to Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P. (*Morning Leader*, October 25th, 1906), permanent fusions of capital now exist in the following trades: Sewing-cotton, Salt, Brewing, Tobacco, Railways, Shipping, Match-making, Soap-making, Banking.

IRON AND STEEL TRUSTS.

According to Mr. H. W. Macrosty (*Trust Movement in British Industry*), the Dunderland Iron Co. has absorbed 24 British companies, which, together with private shareholders, represented a capital of £2,250,000, and since 1902 it has secured a monopoly of the Norwegian ore-fields.

Here is another illustration of the process of amalgamation: Bell Bros., established in 1844, and Dorman Long and Co., founded in 1876, combined in 1902 with a capital of £1,000,000. In 1903 this amalgamation united with the North Eastern Steel Co., the total capital being £3,059,594.

In 1904 the total output of the concern was: 1,150,000 tons of ironstone; 750,000 tons of coke; 550,000 tons of pig-iron; over 400,000 tons of steel; and from 30,000 to 40,000 tons of constructional or bridgework.

The development of Guest, Keen and Nettlefold is another typical case. Guest, Keen and Co. was formed in 1900 to take over the business of the Dowlais Iron Co. (which consisted of collieries, a large interest in a Spanish ore company, and steel and iron works at Dowlais and Cardiff) and the Patent Nut and Bolt Co. (a Birmingham concern owning works for the manufacture of bolts, nuts, railway fastenings, etc., in addition to a colliery). In 1900 Nettlefold's, Screwmakers, Birmingham, was absorbed, the capital issued totalling £4,535,000, with a reserve fund of £750,000. The average annual profit for the years 1902 to 1907 was £419,224.

Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. Ltd. absorbed the firms of Mitchell and Co., Shipbuilders, and Sir Joseph Whitworth and Co., Engineers. It also has an interest in Robert Stephenson and Co., Locomotive and Marine Engineers and Shipbuilders, and the Italian firm of Ansaldo, of Genoa. The total capital of the combination amounts to £5,710,000; assets, £7,236,412; with average profits for five years (1900-1905), after paying debenture interest, depreciation, and all other charges, of £568,948.

Vickers, Sons and Maxim in 1867 had a capital of only £150,000. In 1896 it purchased the Naval Construction and Armament Co. and the Maxim Nordenfelt Guns and Ammunition Co. It has since acquired half share in W. Beardmore and Co., Steelmasters and Shipbuilders, Glasgow (itself a combine of Messrs. Beardmore with Messrs. R. Napier and Sons, Shipbuilders, and the Mossend Steelworks). In 1907 the share and debenture capital of Messrs. Vickers, Sons and Maxim had increased to £7,347,000, and since 1898 their net profits have been as follows :—

| | | | |
|------|----------|------|----------|
| 1898 | £269,852 | 1902 | £602,344 |
| 1899 | 404,046 | 1903 | 526,883 |
| 1900 | 526,937 | 1904 | 723,594 |
| 1901 | 701,691 | 1905 | 787,778 |

The latest example of combination in the iron and steel trade is the formation of the Workington Iron Co., with a capital of £2,000,000, embracing four existing concerns, several collieries, brickworks, iron-ore workings in Cumberland and India, in addition to various powers in a dock and harbour.

ONLY HALF-A-MILLION SHARE-HOLDERS.

The total number of shareholders in the United Kingdom does not, according to Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, exceed 500,000. The accuracy of this estimate (made in the *Morning Leader*, October 25th, 1906) has never been seriously disputed.

THE FAILURES OF INDIVIDUALISM.

A Parliamentary White Paper gives the following particulars concerning business failures up to 1906 :—

| | No. of Failures. | Estimated Liabilities. | Net Loss to Creditors. |
|----------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1900 ... | 4,410 | £6,479,315 | £5,611,569 |
| 1901 ... | 4,244 | 6,794,320 | 5,713,505 |
| 1902 ... | 4,262 | 5,569,669 | 4,646,042 |
| 1903 ... | 4,286 | 5,320,967 | 4,475,823 |
| 1904 ... | 4,546 | 6,961,836 | 6,027,305 |
| 1905 ... | 4,764 | 5,915,867 | 5,134,658 |
| 1906 ... | 4,436 | 5,762,199 | 5,133,325 |

COMMERCIAL CORRUPTION.

Sir Edward Fry, late Lord Justice of Appeal, said in 1905: "If one enquires whether the morality exercised in the conduct of business in this country is satisfactory or not . . . I fear the answer must be in the negative. Let me enumerate some well-known facts:—

"1. Over insurance of vessels. . . . When one considers how nearly this sin approaches to the crime of murder this consideration is startling.

"2. The bad and lazy work too often done by those in receipt of wages.

"3. The adulteration of articles of consumption.

"4. The ingenuity exercised in the infringement of trade-marks, and the perpetual strain exhibited by rival traders by some device or other to get the benefit of the reputation and name of some other maker.

"5. A whole class of frauds exists in the manufacture of goods, by which a thing is made to appear heavier or thicker or better in some way or other than it really is. The deceit is designed to operate on the ignorant ultimate purchaser.

"6. Lastly, but not least, bribery in one form or the other riddles and makes hollow and unsound a great deal of business."

The late Lord Chief Justice Russell, addressing the Lord Mayor in 1898, described company fraud as "a class of fraud which is rampant in this community, fraud of a most dangerous kind, widespread in operation, touching all classes, involving great pecuniary loss to the community, a loss largely borne by those least able to bear it; and even more important than this, fraud which is working insidiously to undermine and corrupt that high sense of public morality which it ought to be the common object of all interested in the good of the country to maintain—fraud blunting the sharp edge of honour and besmirching honourable names."

OUTPUT AND EMPLOYMENT.

According to the Fiscal Blue Book, Cd. 1761, 1903, three leading industries show productivity to increase much faster than the number of persons employed in the industries.

COTTON TRADE.

| Year. | Raw Cotton consumed. Million cwts. | No. of Persons Employed. |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1861 | 9.0 | 546,813 |
| 1871 | 10.8 | 558,085 |
| 1881 | 12.9 | 595,890 |
| 1891 | 14.9 | 640,703 |
| 1901 | 14.7 | 618,558 |
| Percentage of increase since | | |
| 1861 ... | ... 63.3 | 13.0 |

WOOLLEN TRADE.

| Year. | Wool Consumption. Million lbs. | No. Employed. |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1871 | 337 | 246,645 |
| 1881 | 320 | 240,006 |
| 1891 | 487 | 258,356 |
| 1901 | 541 | 236,106 |
| Percentage of increase since | | |
| 1871 ... | ... 60.5 | Decrease = 4.3 |

IRON AND STEEL TRADE.

| Year. | Pig Iron Consumed. Million Tons. | No. Employed. |
|---------------------------------|--|------------------|
| 1861 | 3.3 | 129,507 |
| 1871 | 5.6 | 191,291 |
| 1881 | 6.7 | 200,677 |
| 1891 | 6.6 | 202,456 |
| 1901 | 7.3 | 216,022 |
| Percentage of increase since | | |
| 1861 ... | ... 121.2 | 66.8 |

MACHINE v. HAND LABOUR.

The Report of the U.S.A. Labour Department on Hand and Machine Labour issued in 1898 contains the following striking comparisons of the relative productivity of Hand and Machine Labour :—

| Articles Produced or work done. | Persons Employed. | | Total Time taken . | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------|
| | Hand. | Machine. | Hand. Hrs. | Ma. Hrs. |
| 25,000 lbs. soap ... | 12 | 20 | 432 | 21 |
| 100,000 cigarettes ... | 27 | 18 | 990 | 148 |
| 100 lbs. type ... | 7 | 3 | 200 | 17 |
| 100 tons coal ... | 93 | 60 | 387 | 191 |
| Binding 1,000 books | 38 | 29 | 260 | 101 |
| 1,000 shoe boxes ... | 14 | 16 | 228 | 34 |
| 1 gross stove brushes | 41 | 10 | 38 | 17 |
| 100 leather dashboards | 3 | 4 | 1,028 | 65 |
| 100 electro plates ... | 28 | 28 | 260 | 89 |
| 200 doz. handker- chiefs ... | 572 | 175 | 926 | 186 |
| 12 pine bureaux ... | 20 | 8 | 8 | 3 |
| 1,000 litho. sheets ... | 18 | 29 | 281 | 5 |
| 10,000 hair pins ... | 41 | 19 | 21 | 7 |
| 1,000 sewing machine needles ... | 45 | 45 | 475 | 12 |
| Repairing road ... | 80 | 2 | 800 | 20 |
| 12 packages brass pins | 17 | 16 | 140 | 1 |

Workers and Shareholders.

“ I look forward to a time when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; and when the division of the produce of labour, instead of depending in so great a degree, as it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice.”—*John Stuart Mill in his “Autobiography.”*

"DIVIDING UP!"

The *Daily Express* of April 1st (appropriate day!), 1908, gave the following from its New York correspondent:—

"How capital and labour have *equal* interest in great business concerns is shown in the annual report of the Steel Trust. The past year's net earnings of this great undertaking applicable for interest and dividends amounted to £32,192,934. The amount paid in salaries and wages was £32,165,164. 'Thus,' says the *Wall Street Journal*, 'this great corporation earns for capital and labour exactly the same sum. There is an equal division.'"

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money shows that the profits of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Electric Supply Company were distributed as follows in 1905:—

| | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Wages | ... | ... | ... | £34,000 |
| Profits | ... | ... | ... | £74,000 |

WAGES.

By the use of Index Numbers the Board of Trade have compiled a return showing the course of Wages and Prices of the necessaries of life since 1850. Fixing the rate of Wages and average wholesale prices for that year at 100, Wages and Prices for subsequent years are set out in percentages of those prevailing in that year:—

| Year. | | Wages. | | Prices. |
|-------|-----|--------|-----|---------|
| 1850 | ... | 100 | ... | 100 |
| 1855 | ... | — | ... | 131.2 |
| 1860 | ... | 119.2 | ... | 128.6 |
| 1865 | ... | 127.5 | ... | 131.2 |
| 1870 | ... | 134.1 | ... | 124.7 |
| 1875 | ... | 161.4 | ... | 124.7 |
| 1880 | ... | 148.8 | ... | 114.3 |
| 1885 | ... | 149.4 | ... | 93.5 |
| 1890 | ... | 161.3 | ... | 93.5 |
| 1895 | ... | 159.2 | ... | 80.5 |
| 1900 | ... | 178.7 | ... | 97.4 |
| 1905 | ... | 173.3 | ... | 93.5 |
| 1906 | ... | 175.7 | ... | 100.0 |
| 1907 | ... | 181.7 | ... | 103.9 |

AN IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION.

“It is mainly as regards labour in organised industries, and especially skilled workers, that any exact data with regard to wages are available. While there is reason to believe that unskilled and even casual labour is generally remunerated at a higher rate than formerly, it is possible that the large mass of casual time labour is not making any substantial advance in weekly or yearly earnings.”—Board of Trade Memorandum on Wages prepared for Poor Law Commissioners.

PROFITS.

Since 1900 there has been a slight increase in the cost of living, whilst the wages of the workers have remained stationary. Not so the profits of the capitalist. The gross assessments to income tax are as follows :—

| Year. | | All Rents, Profits, Salaries. Million £. | | Trades and Professions only. Million £. |
|-------|-----|---|-----|--|
| 1900 | ... | 792 | ... | 436 |
| 1901 | ... | 833 | ... | 466 |
| 1902 | ... | 867 | ... | 488 |
| 1903 | ... | 880 | ... | 492 |
| 1904 | ... | 903 | ... | 502 |
| 1905 | ... | 912 | ... | 505 |
| 1906 | ... | 925 | ... | 509 |
| 1907 | ... | 944 | ... | 519 |
| 1908 | ... | 980 | ... | |

BANKERS' DIVIDENDS.

Here are a few instances of the profits paid by Banking Companies in 1908 :—

| | | | Per cent. |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|
| Capital and Counties | ... | ... | 16 |
| Union of London and Smith's | ... | | 10 |
| Manchester and Liverpool District | | | 17½ |
| Crompton and Evans Union | ... | | 18¾ |
| London, City and Midland | ... | | 18 |
| Lloyd's | ... | ... | 16¼ |
| London and South Western | ... | | 16 |
| Williams Deacon's | ... | ... | 15 |
| London and Westminster | ... | | 6 |
| National Discount | ... | ... | 10 |
| Union Discount | ... | ... | 12 |

WAGES IN THE TEXTILE TRADES.

It is estimated by the Board of Trade that at least one-fifteenth of the working population are engaged in the manufacture of textile goods. 1906 was a record year for textiles, and in that year the Board of Trade collected statistics showing the actual wages paid in the various branches of the industry. About one-half of the employers supplied the particulars asked for. Here is the result :—

COTTON TRADE.

Men's Wages.

| Rate. | Number. | Percentage of total Men employed by Firms mak- ing Returns |
|-------------------------|---------|--|
| Under 12s. | 165 | 0.3 |
| 12s. and under 15s. ... | 912 | 1.6 |
| 15s. and under 20s. ... | 7,994 | 14.1 |
| 20s. and under 25s. ... | 13,829 | 24.4 |
| 25s. and under 30s. ... | 10,937 | 19.3 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 30s. ... | 33,837 | 59.7 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |

Women's Wages.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 41 | — |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 2,629 | 3.0 |
| 10s. and under 15s. ... | 18,626 | 20.9 |
| 15s. and under 20s. ... | 31,474 | 35.4 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 20s. ... | 52,770 | 59.3 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |

WOOLLEN TRADE.

Men's Wages.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| Under 12s. | 61 | 0.3 |
| 12s. and under 15s. ... | 372 | 1.5 |
| 15s. and under 20s. ... | 3,235 | 13.4 |
| 20s. and under 25s. ... | 7,607 | 31.6 |
| 25s. and under 30s. ... | 4,953 | 20.6 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 30s. ... | 16,228 | 67.4 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |

Women's Wages.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 7 | — |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 4,706 | 10.7 |
| 10s. and under 15s. ... | 24,460 | 55.6 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 15s. ... | 29,173 | 66.3 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |

LINEN TRADE.

Men's Wages.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|
| Under 12s. | 645 | 8.9 |
| 12s. and under 15s. ... | 893 | 12.3 |
| 15s. and under 20s. ... | 1,687 | 23.2 |
| 20s. and under 25s. ... | 1,565 | 21.5 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 25s. ... | 4,790 | 65.9 |

Women's Wages.

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| Under 3s. | 3 | — |
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 150 | 0.6 |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 9,746 | 41.1 |
| 10s. and under 15s. ... | 11,657 | 49.1 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 15s. ... | 21,556 | 90.8 |

These figures only apply to men and women who have worked *full* time. In the various trades *full* time hours average :

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Cotton | 55.5 |
| Woollen | 55.6 |
| Linen | 55.1 |

PROFITS IN THE COTTON TRADE.

“ Mr. W. Mullin, General Secretary of the Cardroom Operatives, has prepared a very comprehensive statement showing the dividends and bonuses paid during the last 20 months, and taking three companies haphazard he stated that one paid $14\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. in dividends and a bonus of 30 per cent., and then had a profit to carry forward of £2,400, equivalent to a dividend of 7 per cent.

“ Another company paid 10 per cent. in dividends, declared a bonus of $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and carried forward £6,000, equal to 11 per cent. on the share capital.

“ One hundred companies at the end of 1907 declared a total profit of £1,321,157, and paid an average dividend of $15\frac{7}{8}$ per cent., which absorbed £574,127, leaving a balance of £747,030, equivalent to about an additional 20 per cent.

“ Moreover, in a large number of cases the companies allowed an exceptionally generous amount for depreciation for wear and tear of plant. Proof of this was, he said, to be found in the fact that some companies had applied to the court for permission to repay share capital out of the fund so created.”—*Daily Telegraph*, August 24th, 1908.

WAGES IN THE CLOTHING TRADES.

A Board of Trade Report (Cd. 4,844) dealing with the year 1906, gives some instructive particulars of conditions prevailing in the Clothing Trade, including Dressmaking, Millinery, Tailoring, Boot and Shoe-making, Glove-making, Laundry-work, etc.

A startling feature of the Report, so far as Dressmaking and Millinery Workshops are concerned, is the large number of workers who receive *no* wages. The Report states (p. 22), "the total number of women and girls returned was 44,799; of these 4,649 receive no remuneration either in cash, wages or kind, and 54 receive no cash wages but were provided with board and lodgings or partial board. These non-wage-earning apprentices or learners form 29 per cent. of the total number of apprentices and learners (all ages) and of girls under 18 returned in the Dressmaking trade; 47.5 per cent. of those in the Millinery trade; and 9.3 per cent. of those in the Mantle-making trade."

The following table gives the percentage of non-wage-earning women and girls to the total employed in the districts specified :—

| District. | Dress and Mantlemaking. Millinery | |
|---|--------------------------------------|------|
| Northern Counties and | | |
| Cleveland | 18.2 | 29.1 |
| Yorkshire (excluding Cleveland | 10.1 | 21.3 |
| Lancashire and Cheshire | 11.7 | 24.7 |
| North and West Midland Counties | 8.5 | 18.3 |
| South Midland and Eastern Counties | 10.5 | 33.7 |
| London | .9 | 9.9 |
| South-eastern Counties ... | 7.7 | 20.0 |
| South-western Counties ... | 9.6 | 21.7 |
| Wales and Monmouth ... | 22.8 | 46.3 |
| Scotland | 6.6 | 12.0 |
| Ireland | 17.1 | 35.2 |
| Average for the United Kingdom | 8.1 | 20.4 |

ACTUAL WAGES PAID.

From employers particulars were obtained showing the actual wages paid to men, women, girls and boys employed in the various branches of the trade who worked full time during the last week of September, 1906. The wages paid were as follows :—

MEN (20 AND UPWARDS).

| Rate | Number Paid. | Per-centage. |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Under 12s. | 40 | 0.1 |
| 12s. and under 15s. ... | 216 | 0.6 |
| 15s. and under 20s. ... | 2,354 | 6.5 |
| 20s. and under 25s. ... | 7,289 | 20.0 |
| 25s. and under 30s. ... | 9,880 | 27.2 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 30s. ... | 19,779 | 54.4 |

WOMEN (18 AND UPWARDS).

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| Under 3s. | 10 | — |
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 430 | 0.4 |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 22,089 | 21.2 |
| 10s. and under 15s. ... | 47,009 | 45.1 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 15s. ... | 69,538 | 66.7 |

LADS AND BOYS (14 TO 20).

| | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|
| Under 3s. | 171 | 1.4 |
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 953 | 7.9 |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 5,585 | 46.5 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 10s. ... | 6,709 | 55.8 |

GIRLS (14 TO 18).

| | | |
|------------------------|--------|-------|
| Under 3s. | 4,794 | 13.9 |
| 3s. and under 5s. ... | 8,370 | 24.2 |
| 5s. and under 10s. ... | 18,190 | 52.6 |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Total under 10s. ... | 31,354 | 90.7 |

In the Dressmaking and Millinery Branch of the trade the following particulars are given of the *full time* earnings of girls from 14 to 18 :—

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Under 1s. | 76 |
| 1s. and under 2s. ... | 1,414 |
| 2s. and under 3s. ... | 2,106 |
| 3s. and under 4s. ... | 1,745 |
| 4s. and under 5s. ... | 1,518 |
| <hr/> | |

Total 6,859

In the Clothing Trade *full time* means anything from 44 to 70 hours per week, the average being 52.7 per week.

The Woman and the Child in Industry.

WOMEN WORKERS.

The Census for 1901 gives a comparative table showing the extent to which women and girls are being employed in the chief branches of the textile industries. The figures are per 1,000 of the total employed :

| Occupation. | 1861. | 1871. | 1881. | 1891. | 1901 |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Cotton ... | 567 | 598 | 620 | 609 | 628 |
| Wool ... | 461 | 513 | 561 | 557 | 582 |
| Silk ... | 642 | 676 | 691 | 667 | 702 |
| Hemp, Jute, etc. | 265 | 304 | 374 | 393 | 492 |
| Hosiery ... | 468 | 468 | 533 | 629 | 713 |
| Lace ... | 829 | 826 | 743 | 625 | 653 |
| Carpets, etc. ... | 183 | 312 | 362 | 440 | 517 |

WOMEN AS WAGE-EARNERS.

According to the Census of 1901 the numbers of women and girls employed in the industries named are :—

| Industry. | Over 20. | Under 20. | Total. |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|---------|
| Coal Mining ... | 1,207 | 1,458 | 2,665 |
| Building ... | 572 | 19 | 591 |
| Cotton ... | 211,428 | 131,561 | 342,989 |
| Woollen ... | 77,216 | 47,667 | 124,883 |
| Lace ... | 16,322 | 7,485 | 23,807 |
| Linen ... | 2,176 | 1,302 | 3,478 |
| Silk ... | 16,089 | 9,087 | 25,176 |
| Iron and Steel | 988 | 620 | 1,608 |
| Tailoring ... | 79,826 | 42,220 | 122,046 |
| Boots, Shoes, etc. | 31,734 | 21,105 | 52,839 |
| Totals ... | 437,558 | 262,524 | 700,082 |

CHILDREN AS WAGE-EARNERS.

The Local Government Board Report on Public Health and Social Conditions states that at the Census of 1901, 21.9 per cent. of boys from 10 to 15 years of age were returned as wage-earners. Of girls, the percentage was 12.5.

The Home Secretary stated in 1908 in the House of Commons that the number of children employed as half-timers in factories, workshops, and laundries was :

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| In the United Kingdom ... | 37,265 |
| Lancashire and Yorkshire | 25,345 |
| Bolton | 1,068 |
| Blackburn | 1,530 |
| Burnley | 1,042 |
| Oldham | , 534 |
| Preston | 950 |
| Rochdale | 543 |
| Bradford | 4,210 |

With regard to the half-time system, Dr. J. Johnston (*Wastage of Child-life*) writes :—

“ The evidence of doctors, factory inspectors, school teachers, and others all proves that it stunts their bodies, dwarfs their minds, and corrupts their morals ” (p. 33).

In Birmingham in the year 1907, out of eight schools containing 3,323 children, 570 were found to be engaged in wage-earning work, or one-sixth of the total number. A large proportion of these sell papers and matches on the streets. The hours vary from a very few up to 57 per week.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1903 came to the conclusion that there were in England alone (apart from the half-timers) 200,000 children employed as wage-earners.

In the hook-and-eye carding there is an authentic case of a little boy who started “ linking ” hooks at the age of three; how many more unknown cases there are it is impossible to say. In one school two boys (aged eight) sell milk for 27 hours and 37½ hours respectively. In many cases the children are the chief and sometimes the sole breadwinners of the family.

EVILS OF BOY LABOUR.

Speaking of boy labour, which it condemns as being responsible for a great deal of pauperism, the *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission* says :—

“ In nearly all of these occupations the training received leads to nothing, and the occupations themselves are, in most cases, destructive to healthy development owing to long hours, long periods of standing, walking, or mere waiting; and, morally, are wholly demoralising.”

“ Street selling,” says the Chief Constable of Sheffield, “ makes the boys thieves.”

“ Newsboys and street-sellers,” says Mr. Cyril Jackson, “ are practically all gamblers. Of 1,454 youths between 14 and 21 charged in Glasgow during 1906 with theft and other offences inferring dishonesty, 1,208, or 83.7 per cent., came from the class of messengers, street traders, etc.”

Boys of 14 to 18 formed, in 1901, 13.5 per cent. of the total population. In the following industries they form over 20 per cent. of those employed :—

| Industry. | Factories. | | Workshops. | |
|---|------------|------|------------|--|
| Jute | 27.2 | — | | |
| Glass | 25.0 | 20.0 | | |
| Hemp | 25.0 | — | | |
| Wool | — | 25.0 | | |
| Machines, Appliances, Conveyances, Tools ... | — | 25.1 | | |
| Food | — | 29.1 | | |
| Drink | — | 26.2 | | |
| Paper, Printing, Stationery, etc. ... | 20.9 | 23.6 | | |
| Tobacco | 23.4 | — | | |
| Chemicals, etc. ... | — | 23.8 | | |
| Miscellaneous ... | — | 22.0 | | |
| Worsted | 21.1 | — | | |
| Metals—Galvanising, Finishing, etc. ... | 21.1 | — | | |
| Jewellery, Plate, etc. ... | — | 21.9 | | |
| Clay, Stone, etc. ... | — | 20.9 | | |
| Furniture, etc. ... | — | 20.2 | | |
| Average for all Industries | 14.3 | 20.8 | | |

Unemployment.

ITS CONTINUAL RECURRENCE.

In the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission it is stated that the cycle from good to bad trade is completed every ten or eleven years. A table is given showing the course of trade since 1816, from which the following is summarised :—

- 1816-17—Great distress.
- 1819—Prosperity and Reaction.
- 1821-3—Agricultural depression.
- 1825-6—Prosperity ; speculation ; crash.
- 1827-33—Distress.
- 1834-6—Revival and prosperity.
- 1838—Distress.
- 1839-41—Universal distress.
- 1842—The lowest ebb.
- 1843-5—Revival ; prosperity and speculation.
- 1846-7—Potato famine and crisis.
- 1848—Distress.
- 1849-52—Revival and prosperity.
- 1854-7—Depression and distress.
- 1858-60—Revival and prosperity.
- 1861-2—Cotton famine and distress.
- 1863-4—Revival and prosperity.
- 1865-6—Wild speculation and crash.
- 1867-9—Depression.
- 1870-3—Revival and general prosperity.
- 1874—Highest point of prosperity.
- 1875—Declining prosperity.
- 1876-8—Depression and distress.
- 1879—Culmination of distress.
- 1880—Slight improvement.
- 1882—The golden year of shipbuilding.
- 1884-6—Depression and distress.
- 1887-90—Revival and prosperity.
- 1891-3—Decline and depression.
- 1894—Baring's crash.
- 1895-9—Revival and prosperity.
- 1900—Culmination of prosperity.
- 1901-2—Slow ebb.
- 1903-4—Depression and distress.
- 1905-6—Revival and prosperity.
- 1907—Prosperity and decline.

OUT-OF-WORK TRADE UNIONISTS.

Since 1851 the Board of Trade has returned the following percentage of unemployed trade unionists :—

| Year. | | All Trades. | Building Trade. | Engineering, Shipbuilding, and Metal Trades. |
|-------|-----|-------------|-----------------|--|
| 1851 | ... | 3.9 | — | 3.9 |
| 1855 | ... | 5.4 | — | 5.4 |
| 1860 | ... | 1.85 | 0.2 | 1.9 |
| 1865 | ... | 1.80 | 0.3 | 2.4 |
| 1870 | ... | 3.75 | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| 1875 | ... | 2.20 | 0.6 | 3.5 |
| 1880 | ... | 5.25 | 6.1 | 6.7 |
| 1885 | ... | 8.55 | 7.1 | 12.9 |
| 1890 | ... | 2.10 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| 1895 | ... | 6.05 | 4.4 | 8.2 |
| 1896 | ... | 3.50 | 1.3 | 4.2 |
| 1897 | ... | 3.65 | 1.2 | 2.4 |
| 1898 | ... | 3.15 | 0.9 | 4.0 |
| 1899 | ... | 2.40 | 1.2 | 2.4 |
| 1900 | ... | 2.85 | 2.6 | 2.6 |
| 1901 | ... | 3.80 | 3.9 | 3.8 |
| 1902 | ... | 4.60 | 4.0 | 5.5 |
| 1903 | ... | 5.30 | 4.4 | 6.6 |
| 1904 | ... | 6.8 | 7.3 | 8.4 |
| 1905 | ... | 5.6 | 8.0 | 6.6 |
| 1906 | ... | 4.1 | 6.9 | 4.1 |
| 1907 | ... | 4.3 | 6.4 | 5.0 |
| 1908 | ... | 8.9 | 10.1 | 12.6 |

A Local Government Report of Distress Committees for the year 1907-8 gives the following particulars of persons found qualified for assistance :—

| Age. | No. | Percentage. |
|---------------------|--------|-------------|
| Under 20 ... | 1,256 | 2.3 |
| 20 and under 30 ... | 14,020 | 25.7 |
| 30 and under 40 ... | 16,249 | 29.7 |
| 40 and under 50 ... | 12,823 | 23.5 |
| 50 and under 60 ... | 7,687 | 14.1 |
| 60 and over ... | 2,578 | 4.7 |

The *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission* (p. 326) says : “ The growth of large cities has brought with it an enormous increase in occupations that are making directly for unemployment in the future.”

Pauperism.

CYCLES OF PAUPERISM.

The *Report of the Poor Law Commission* says: "An examination of the statistics for the period since 1871 shows that pauperism moves in cycles of similar duration to the cycles of employment, but that the turning points are from one to two years later than the turning points in the cycles of employment." They therefore group the statistics of pauperism into the respective cycles in which they fall with this result :—

| Cycles. | Mean No. of Persons relieved. | Mean of the Annual Rate per 1,000 of estimated Population. |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1871-2 to 1879-80 | 747,936 | 31.2 |
| 1880-1 to 1887-88 | 711,625 | 26.6 |
| 1888-9 to 1895-96 | 694,094 | 23.8 |
| 1896-7 to 1905-6 | 718,444 | 22.3 |
| 1906-7 | 769,160 | 22.3 |
| 1907-8 | 772-346 | 22.1 |

These lists are exclusive of casuals and lunatics. This shows that the origin of pauperism is social, not personal, and that society as a whole must deal with it.

WHAT PAUPERISM COSTS.

Since 1871 the cost of administering the Poor Law has been :—

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|------------|
| 1871-2 | ... | ... | £8,007,403 |
| 1879-80 | ... | ... | 8,015,010 |
| 1887-8 | ... | ... | 8,440,821 |
| 1895-6 | ... | ... | 10,215,974 |
| 1905-6 | ... | ... | 14,685,983 |
| 1906-7 | ... | ... | 14,088,000 |

HOW THE MONEY IS SPENT.

The expenditure during 1906-7 was apportioned thus :—

| | | |
|------------------------|-----|-------------|
| Maintenance | ... | £8,959,000 |
| Salaries of officials | ... | 2,504,000 |
| Loan charges | ... | 1,224,000 |
| Other charges | ... | 1,560,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 14,247,000 |
| Less certain transfers | | 159,000 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £14,088,000 |

THE CAUSES OF PAUPERISM.

Two of the Special Investigators appointed by the Poor Law Commission, Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland and Miss Rose E. Squire, a lady Factory Inspector, give the following as the causes of pauperism :—

1st—Casual and irregular employment.

2nd—Bad housing conditions. “These,” they say, “in our opinion contribute to pauperism through disease and demoralisation.”

3rd—Seasonal fluctuations in trade.

4th—Unhealthy trades and insanitary condition of workplaces.

5th—Earnings habitually below what are required for healthy subsistence.

6th—Dangerous trades. Of these, the Investigators say, “They reduce an undue proportion (of those employed) to potential pauperism through preventible diseases.”

DRINK AND POVERTY.

In their Report to the Poor Law Commissioners Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland and Miss Rose E. Squire also state : “Drink as the chief pauperising agent has been brought constantly before us throughout the enquiry, and there can be no doubt that it is one of the principal causes of pauperism. It is, however, for the most part but the effect of causes which require to be sought out and removed.”

Some of the contributing causes of drinking they state to be “dangerous and unhealthy conditions of work, excessive hours, low wages, and bad housing. . . . Other causes,” they say, “may be the too abundant facilities for drinking and the paucity of easily accessible means of healthy and reasonable recreation.”

In the Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, published in 1905, we are told on the authority of such sound Tories as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the late Lord Ritchie, Dr. Hunter, Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, and Sir Herbert Maxwell, that, “The imputation that old age pauperism is mainly due to drink, idleness, improvidence, and the like causes, applies to but a very small proportion of the working-class population.”

THE POVERTY OF OUR OLD PEOPLE.

For the guidance of the Poor Law Commission a Census of Paupers was taken on March 31st, 1906, with this result :—

| Age | Number Relieved. | Per 1,000 of estimated population at same age. |
|---------------------|------------------|--|
| Under 5 ... | 51,767 | 13.6 |
| 5 and under 15 ... | 179,854 | 26.0 |
| 15 and under 25 ... | 22,583 | 3.3 |
| 25 and under 35 ... | 38,189 | 6.6 |
| 35 and under 45 ... | 58,401 | 13.3 |
| 45 and under 55 ... | 56,252 | 17.9 |
| 55 and under 65 ... | 91,530 | 43.3 |
| 65 and under 75 ... | 183,128 | 163.0 |
| 75 and under 85 ... | 117,231 | 275.9 |
| 85 and upwards ... | 18,080 | 353.1 |

This takes no account of inmates of asylums, etc., or those in receipt of casual relief. It will be seen that the greatest percentage of paupers is found amongst children and old people.

Of adults from 55 to 65, 1 in every 23 is a pauper; from 65 to 75, 1 in every 6; from 75 to 85, more than 1 in every 4; 85 and upwards, more than 1 in every 3.

The Trade Unions.

THE WORLD'S ORGANISED WORKERS.

| Country | Number. |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Germany | 2,453,940 |
| Britain | 2,106,283 |
| U.S.A. | 1,970,700 |
| France | 896,012 |
| Italy | 617,582 |
| Austria | 510,094 |
| Sweden | 200,924 |
| Belgium | 158,116 |
| Hungary | 153,332 |
| Switzerland | 135,377 |
| Holland | 128,845 |
| Denmark | 98,432 |
| Spain | 32,408 |
| Norway | 25,339 |
| Australia | 100,626 |
| New Zealand | 27,714 |

HOW TRADE UNION FUNDS ARE SPENT.

The Twelfth Abstract of Labour Statistics (published by the Board of Trade) gives the following particulars of how the funds of 100 principal British Trade Unions are spent. The percentages of expenditure devoted to each class of benefit since 1900 have been :—

| Year. | Unemployed Benefit. | Dispute Benefit. | Other Benefits. | Working Expenses. |
|----------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1900 ... | 18.0 | 10.5 | 46.6 | 24.9 |
| 1901 ... | 19.8 | 12.8 | 43.9 | 23.5 |
| 1902 ... | 23.8 | 12.2 | 41.6 | 22.4 |
| 1903 ... | 24.9 | 9.0 | 41.3 | 22.8 |
| 1904 ... | 31.8 | 6.2 | 41.3 | 20.7 |
| 1906 ... | 21.5 | 7.9 | 47.1 | 23.5 |
| 1907 ... | 25.2 | 10.4 | 43.7 | 20.7 |

TRADE DISPUTES.

Since 1900 the number of trade disputes and their results have been :—

| Year. | No. of Disputes. | Results. | | | |
|----------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | | In favour of Men. o/o | Masters. o/o | Com-promised o/o | Indefinite. o/o |
| 1900 ... | 648 | 31 | 34 | 34 | 1 |
| 1901 ... | 642 | 25 | 44 | 30 | — |
| 1902 ... | 442 | 24 | 47 | 28 | — |
| 1903 ... | 387 | 31 | 27 | 21 | — |
| 1904 ... | 355 | 27 | 42 | 31 | — |
| 1905 ... | 358 | 25 | 34 | 41 | — |
| 1906 ... | 486 | 42 | 24 | 33 | — |
| 1907 ... | 601 | 33 | 27 | 40 | — |

Factory Law.

THE CHIEF FACTORY ACTS.

1802.—Health and Morals of Apprentices Act. Provided for protection of Parish apprentices, and incidentally limited their hours to *twelve* per day.

1819.—Mainly as the result of Robert Ower's agitation an Act was passed limiting hours of children between 9 and 16 employed in cotton mills to 12 per day.

1833.—Act was passed this year applied to cotton, woollen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen and silk (lace-making and some subsidiary industries were exempted). Strenuously opposed by manufacturers and economists. Hours of young people between 13 and 18 were limited to 12 per day or 69 per week; children from 9 to 13 were limited to 48 hours per week, and children under 9 were prohibited from working in factories, with the exception of silk mills, where, as a matter of fact, the largest number of children were employed—being taken on from eight and upwards. At this same period the hours of adult male convicts were limited to 10 per day. Four official Factory Inspectors were appointed by this Act.

1842.—Act passed prohibiting employment of boys under 10 in mining and colliery labour. Originally fixed age limit at 13, but opposition from coal masters was so great that 10 had to be accepted as a compromise. By same Act Inspectors of Mines were appointed, and employment of women in mines forbidden.

1844.—Women's labour in factories restricted to 12 per day. Same Act went a step backward, reducing children's age-limit to eight; but restricted the hours of those under 13 years to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per day, with compulsory school attendance for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in winter and 3 hours per day in summer.

1847.—“Ten Hours' Act” passed limiting employment of women and young persons to 10 per day.

1850.—Fixed normal day of women and young persons at from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., or from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., with one and a-half hours for meals, and work to stop at 2 p.m. on Saturdays.

1853.—Extended “ normal day ” to children. Hours remained same—six and a half every day or 10 on three alternate days ; but they could not be employed before 6 a.m. or after 6 p.m.

1860.—Bleach and dye works brought under Acts.

1861.—Women, young persons, youths and children in lace factories brought under Acts.

1867.—Introduced a new definition of “ Factory ”—any place where 50 or more persons are employed in any manufacturing process.

1874.—“ Speeding up ” machinery in textile trade was followed by Act adding half an hour to meal times, thus making hours $56\frac{1}{2}$ per week ; implicitly forbade overtime and raised age-limit for children in textile factories to 10 years.

1878.—Employment of children and young persons in white lead and other factories forbidden.

1883.—Special protective legislation as regards employees in white lead factories enacted.

1886.—Act passed limiting hours of children and young persons in shops to 74 per week, but made no provision regarding women.

1889.—Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, extended Factory Acts to children employed in theatrical entertainments.

1891.—Safeguards against sweating in sub-contracts instituted. Employment of children under 11 in workshops forbidden.

1901.—Act passed consolidating Factory and Workshop Acts and amendments thereof.

“ THE TRAGEDY OF TOIL.”

The Board of Trade *Labour Gazette* for April, 1909, gives the following particulars of fatal accidents in the occupations mentioned during 1908 :—

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Shipping (seamen and fishermen) | 1,283 |
| Mines and quarries | 1,435 |
| Railways | 432 |
| Factories and workshops | 767 |
| Docks, warehouses, etc. | 307 |
| Total | 4,224 |

Since 1904 the accidents in all branches of industry were reported to be :—

| Year. | | Fatal. | | Non-Fatal. |
|--------|-----|--------|-----|------------|
| 1904 | ... | 3,985 | ... | 115,515 |
| 1905 | ... | 4,268 | ... | 122,386 |
| 1906 | ... | 4,369 | ... | 135,693 |
| 1907 | ... | 4,453 | ... | 156,278 |
| 1908 | ... | 4,224 | ... | 121,112* |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Totals | ... | 21,299 | ... | 650,984 |
| <hr/> | | | | |

* Factories and workshops only.

Compare with these figures the 21,942 casualties amongst the British troops engaged in the Boer War.

In five years of industrial peace, the death roll almost equals that of the British dead in South Africa.

Between the years 1899 and 1908 the fatal accidents reported increased by 19.6 per cent. and non-fatal accidents by 113 per cent. (Cd. 3,690.)

An instructive contrast is to be found in the extension of the cotton trade and its increasing roll of accidents :—

| Year. | | Raw Material Consumed. cwt. | | Accidents Reported. |
|-------|-----|--------------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1899 | ... | 15,700,000 | ... | 2,607 |
| 1907 | ... | 17,600,000 | ... | 3,948 |
| <hr/> | | | | |

Increase 12 per cent. 51 per cent.

FACTORY INSPECTION.

In 1908 there were, roughly, 260,000 factories and workshops in the United Kingdom, and the Home Office inspectorate numbered 200. It will thus be seen that an average of less than five visits per day is all that is necessary to ensure the annual inspection of every factory and workshop in the country.

The Home Secretary stated in the House of Commons on February 25th, 1909, that no less than 28,165 factories and 56,705 workshops—a total of 84,870 workplaces, or 32 per cent.—were unvisited in 1908. Further, Mr. Gladstone stated that 6,932 factories and 24,039 workshops—30,971 in all—were unvisited either in 1907 or 1908.

HOW FACTORY INSPECTORS ARE APPOINTED.

There are two grades of inspectors : (1) Factory Inspectors ; (2) Assistant Inspectors. The former are responsible for the inspection of workplaces where motive power is employed in industry and other places within the definition of “ factory ” ; the latter visit workshops only.

The duties of the two classes are quite distinct—no assistant is allowed to inspect a factory where machinery is run by power, although the great bulk of this section of the staff have been recruited from the ranks of industrial workers. There are ex-textile workers on the staff who must not inspect textile machinery ; ex-printers to whom the inspection of printing machinery is forbidden ; ex-engineers who must not visit an engine-shop—in a word, the practical experience of this class remains unused, while the inspection of dangerous machinery is left to the class which is largely made up of theoretical experts and ex-university and military tutors. (See Return 172.—1907.)

When the present Prime Minister went to the Home Office in 1892, he laid down as compulsory subjects in the examinations for Factory Inspectorships both “ Factory and Workshop Law ” and “ Practical Acquaintance with Factories and Workshops.” In 1906, the present Home Secretary revised the syllabus, with the result that full inspectors have been appointed to administer factory law in large and important industrial areas for two years before they were required to give any indication of a knowledge of the law they were administering. On the other hand, assistant inspectors must pass an examination in Workshop Law before appointment.

The two compulsory subjects now in force are “ English Composition ” and “ Arithmetic.” In the last examination for full inspectors, held in 1907, the following were the subjects for English composition, only one of which had to be chosen :—

Municipal Trading ;
The Aims of Socialism ;
Fishing as a Pastime (1).

The following are sample questions in the arithmetical test :—

An engine costs 1d. an hour to run ; what does it cost to run it for 1,000 hours?

How much does a tax of 1s. in the £ bring in on £33 15s.?

A crane lifts 12 bars, each weighing 1 ton 8 cwt. ; what is the total weight lifted?

“ English Literature ” is an optional subject, but it is instructive to find the following laid down as tests of fitness for a factory inspector :—

Which do you consider to be Shakespeare's four great tragedies? State fully the grounds of your opinion in each case.

Estimate the work of the chief Court poets in the reign of Charles I., quoting occasionally.

Trace the influence of Spenser on subsequent poetry.

“ English History ” is also optional, and covers the following among other questions. Success in this subject, it may be added, served as a qualification for inspectors at present on the staff :—

Describe the nature and importance of Henry II.'s ecclesiastical policy.

What is England's debt to Edward I. as soldier and statesman?

Compare and discuss the foreign policies of Cromwell and William III.

A “ General Modern History ” paper included the following :—

Compare the careers and aims of Luther and Calvin.

Explain the position of the claimants to the Spanish Succession, and account for the failure of the Partition Treaty of 1700.

Describe briefly the events which led to the three Partitions of Poland.

French, German, or Italian are test languages, and Mathematics, Economics, Chemistry, Physics and Mechanics are the remaining optional subjects.

The above method of examination has been adhered to despite criticism in the House of Commons and the public Press.

THE LAND.

“Our Native Land.”

“ I fully admit this—I stated it long ago in Midlothian—and I say it now without the slightest doubt—that if the time came when the British nation found that the land should be nationalised, and it would be wise to do it, they have a perfect right to do it.”—W. E. GLADSTONE *at Hawarden, October, 1889.*

“ Land, properly speaking, cannot be owned by any man; it belongs to all the human race.”—J. A. FROUDE, *History of England.*

“ Every permanent improvement of the soil, every railway and road, every bettering of the general condition of society, every facility given for production, every stimulus applied for consumption, raises rent. The landowner sleeps but thrives.”—PROF. THOROLD ROGERS.

WHO OWNS IT ?

According to Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, the land of England and Wales is owned by the following :—

| Acres. | No. of Owners. |
|---------------|--|
| 5,730,000 ... | 400 (peers and peeresses) |
| 8,500,000 ... | 1,300 (great landowners) |
| 4,320,000 ... | 2,600 (squires) |
| 4,780,000 ... | 9,600 (greater yeomen) |
| 4,140,000 ... | 24,400 (lesser yeomen) |
| 4,000,000 ... | 220,000 (small proprietors) |
| 150,000 ... | 700,000 (cottagers) |
| 3,000,000 ... | half owned by public bodies and half waste. |

From the above it will be seen that on an average—

| | Acres. |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| A peer holds ... | 14,325 |
| A great landowner holds ... | 6,538½ |
| A squire holds ... | 1,661½ |
| A greater yeoman ... | 496 |
| A lesser yeoman (nearly) ... | 170 |
| A small proprietor ... | 18 |
| A cottager holds less than ... | ¼ |

More than half the land of England is owned by 4,300 persons.

Nearly 30,000,000 of the people are entirely landless.

HOW THE PEOPLE LOST THE LAND.

These facts relating to the ravages of landlordism in the United Kingdom are given on the authority of Professor Alfred Russel Wallace.

Evictions in England in recent times have, as a rule, been of a less violent but more insidious character. Men have been removed from their holdings on political or religious grounds, or because of some alleged offence against the landlord's sporting rights. But occasionally we have come across cases like that mentioned by Mr. J. A. Froude, the historian, in the *Nineteenth Century* of September, 1880. A village on the Devonshire coast passed into the hands of an English Duke, who, because of the neglect of his ancestors for a century, was faced with the alternative courses of evicting the villagers or rebuilding their cottages, and selected the former course as being the least expensive.

In Ireland from 1849 to 1852 there were 221,845 evictions, whole countrysides being depopulated. The houses which had been built by the labour of the evicted tenants were razed to the ground, and when the homeless victims of landlord cruelty, having nowhere else to go, lighted fires in the ditches to cook what scanty food they had saved, they were mercilessly driven off the land. Thousands died by the roadside. During this period of repressive landlordism the population of Ireland declined from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000.

In Scotland the well-known Sutherland clearance began in 1807, and an estate of 700,000 acres, supporting a population of 15,000 persons, was turned into a sheep farm occupying 39 farmers. The first of the families were provided with smaller allotments near the coast, but later the land given in exchange was often patches of moor or bog quite unfit for cultivation. Houses were burnt down, crops and furniture being destroyed, and the sick, the aged, the women and children were forcibly ejected. In the clearances that took place on the Glengarry property in 1853 the tenants were informed that they were to be carried to Australia,

afterwards told that they were to go to America. The people were literally *driven* on board ship, and those who refused to go were treated with the utmost cruelty, in some cases their property being destroyed. Other features of the inhuman treatment meted out to the hapless tenants by their noble landlords were . Barns or ruined buildings in which the harassed tenantry took refuge were razed or burned to the ground; tenants who refused to obey the eviction orders were pursued into the hills like wild beasts, and when captured were handcuffed and sent out of the country; promises of land and help on their arrival in the colonies, held out as an incentive to emigration, were only made to be broken, and when the emigrants landed on the other side many found themselves homeless and destitute. The decline in the acreage of Scottish land under cultivation from 1831 to 1855 was no less than 1,513,382 acres.

THE ENCLOSURE ACTS.

The attempt to legalise the private ownership of land in England dates from 1235. Up to that period, authorities agree, the land lay open, and the people enjoyed common rights. The great landlords only held their estates in trust from the Crown. With their growing power in the State the barons became ambitious to secure absolute ownership. The first step in this direction was the Statute of Merton, passed in 1235. The preamble to this historic piece of class legislation gives as the reason of its enactment: "Because many great men of England have complained that they cannot make their profit of the residue of their manors," and then proceeds to authorise these "great men of England" to enclose the common lands if they were able to prove that ample pasture had been left for the freehold tenants. In 1255 this was followed by the Statute of Westminster the Second, which sought to safeguard the rights of commoners who, though not tenants of the manors to be enclosed, yet enjoyed pasture rights. With these statutes the filching of the common lands began.

In his book on *Land Nationalisation*, Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., gives some striking illustrations, which he says are typical of the methods by which enclosures were brought about from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. In the earlier period he tells of an Earl Berkeley, who "First negotiated with his manorial tenants for a surrender of some of their acre strips and part of their common grazing rights. When they refused to entertain his proposals, he took the matter into his own hands, secured the land he wanted, and gave the tenants such compensation as he thought fitting. His only motive was to enlarge his park." Of sixteenth century enclosures Mr. Cox says : "On the dissolution of the monasteries their estates were transferred to . . . favourites of the king, or hangers-on of the king's favourites. They ruthlessly cleared out the old tenants—yeomen who could trace their tenure of the land through a dozen generations in unbroken descent—they cut up the open fields with hedges and ditches and fenced off the common pastures to make parks for themselves." Of enclosures Mr. Cox says : "The lords got most, and the landless labourer was left out in the cold. By the enclosures the labourer lost the privilege of turning out any beast he possessed on to the common and received no compensation."

Lord Eversley, Sir Robert Hunter, and other authorities agree that the landlords exercised the rights conferred upon them by these statutes to their fullest extent. Even Mr. Jesse Collings, in his book on the subject, is obliged to admit that the peasant risings that were of such frequent occurrence during the thirteenth to the sixteenth century were due to the large number of enclosures which Mr. Harold Cox has declared to be "not only illegal, but cruel." By the opening of the 18th century the landlords had exhausted the powers of expropriation conferred upon them by the Statutes of Merton and Westminster, and from 1709 to 1797, 1,776 enclosures were specially sanctioned by Parliament. Still the landlords were dissatisfied, complaining that enclosure was too costly; so

in 1801 the first General Enclosure Act was passed "To materially lessen the expense and difficulty formerly incurred in obtaining Parliamentary powers for extinguishing rights of common." The immediate result of this Act was that from 1801 to 1842, 1,997 enclosures were sanctioned by Parliament. In the passing of these wholesale expropriation Acts such scant regard was had for the interest of those who did not happen to be landlords there was such an outcry in the country that in 1845 an Act was passed withdrawing the power to enclose from Parliamentary Committees and vesting it in impartial commissioners. In introducing the 1845 Bill, Lord Lincoln stated that in 19 out of every 20 cases the Committees had "Neglected the interests of the poor." This Act was followed by a decline in the number of enclosures. From 1235 to 1709 we have no means of estimating the acreage enclosed, but the figures for more modern times are given by Lord Eversley, in his *English Commons and Forests*, as :—

| Period. | | Acres enclosed. |
|------------------|-----|-----------------|
| 1709 to 1845 ... | ... | 7,175,000 |
| 1845 to 1849 ... | ... | 614,800 |
| <hr/> | | |
| Total ... | ... | 7,789,800 |

At the present time it is estimated that in England and Wales there only remains 3,000,000 acres of land unowned by private landlords. Of this, half is owned by public authorities and the other half lies waste.

FILCHING THE FORESTS.

In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society on May 25th, 1897, Sir Robert Hunter gave a list of 82 forests in England and Wales that in early times were common property. At the present day only seven of them are unenclosed.

In the wholesale enclosures of common lands up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the beautiful forests of Waltham (Hainault and Epping) came in for much attention from the filchers of the forests.

Up to 1865 about 11,000 acres had been “appropriated” in various ways. The story of the last attempt at enclosure is instructive. The acreage enclosed was 1,000, and the offender was a Mr. Maitland, Rector of the Parish of Loughton. From time immemorial the inhabitants had enjoyed the privilege of lopping the trees for firewood, and in 1866, despite the rector’s enclosure, a villager named Willingale and his two sons, who had for years made their living by lopping wood and selling it for fuel, proceeded to exercise their admitted right. The worthy rector prosecuted the men for malicious trespass; they were brought before a biased bench (one of the magistrates was himself known to have enclosed land) and sentenced to two months’ imprisonment with hard labour. One of Willingale’s sons was put into a damp cell, where he caught a severe chill and died. The case attracted such attention that the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society took the matter up, and after long litigation it was decided that the rector’s enclosure was illegal (see Lord Eversley’s *English Commons and Forests*).

CONVEYING THE COMMONS.

A few of the commons and wastes that have been “conveyed” from public to private ownership by the convenient means of enclosures may be cited from Sir Robert Hunter’s paper before-mentioned :—

| Year. | District. | Acres. |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1801 | Lincolnshire Fens | 53,500 |
| 1801 | Needwood Forest | 10,000 |
| 1801 | Enfield Chase | 3,500 |
| 1801 | Yorkshire (two enclosures) ... | 16,000 |
| 1801 | Herts | 7,000 |
| 1801 | Cambridge (two enclosures) ... | 7,500 |
| 1803 | Alston Moor | 20,000 |
| 1803 | Penrith | 28,000 |
| 1808 | Canford Heath | 9,000 |
| 1808 | Hathersage | 10,000 |
| 1808 | Charnwood Forest | 18,000 |
| 1828 | Holme | 18,500 |

THE STORY OF HAMPSTEAD HEATH.

In *English Commons and Forests* Lord Eversley says that in 1829, as Lord of the Manor of Hampstead, Sir Thomas Wilson attempted to obtain from Parliament powers to lease for building purpose not only his own demesne lands but as much as he pleased of Hampstead Heath. Thanks mainly to the interested opposition of a brother landlord—Lord Mansfield—who feared that his own “rights” might be interfered with, Parliamentary power was again and again refused. The fact that Lord Mansfield’s opposition prevented Sir Thomas from leasing even his demesne lands rankled in his mind so much that he embarked upon an attempt—in his own words—“to DESTROY Hampstead Heath” by carting away tons of sand. This he defended in these words: “I lost my Bill for building on other parts of my property . . . and I must see what I can do to turn the Heath to account. By the outcry that has been raised against me I have been deprived of £50,000 a year.” To avoid costly litigation to establish the right of the people over the Heath, efforts were made to buy out Sir Thomas’s alleged rights to the 240 acres, but the price demanded was £400,000! Mr. Gurney Hoare and others claiming common rights on the Heath took action to stop Sir Thomas’s continuance of building operations which he soon after commenced. Lord Eversley says there was no doubt that the result of the long litigation that followed would have been the upsetting of the lord of the manor’s claim, but in 1868, when Sir Thomas died and his successor the present Sir Spencer Maryon Wilson evinced a desire to compromise, his “rights” were bought for £45,000! In order that the best might be made of the Heath it became necessary to buy out Parliament Hill, 260 acres in extent, “owned” by Sir Spencer and the opponent of the claims of his house to the Heath—Lord Mansfield. In 1889 the bargain was completed, Sir Spencer receiving £70,000 for 60 acres and Lord Mansfield £230,000 for the other 200.

The Unearned Increment.

LAND VALUES.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in *Problems of To-day*, states that the value of real estate in the United States has increased by £260,000,000 a year, and adds :—

“ The obvious creator of this wealth is not the individual, but the community.”

Mr. Balfour evidently shares this opinion. Speaking in the House of Commons, on June 22nd, 1909, he said :—

“ The value of *all* land, anywhere, just as the value of a railway, wherever it may be, and by whomsoever it was made, whether by the State or by private individuals, the value of this, as well as of every other kind of property, depends upon the community.”

Not to be outdone, Mr. Asquith hastened to subscribe to this Socialistic doctrine. Speaking at the Holborn Restaurant, on July 22nd, 1909, he said :—

“ If it be a fact—and I admit it is to some extent the fact—that there is an element of unearned value in other forms of property, besides land, that is an argument not against taking the unearned value there in the shape of land, but it is an argument in favour of taking it in other cases as well. . . . The Chancellor of the Exchequer’s opponents have made him a present of a suggestion which may possibly fructify.”

In a letter of advice to British investors written from America the late Duke of Marlborough said :—

“ The real value of America is in real estate. . . . It is on this real estate of one form and another that future unearned increment of value lies. . . . You have an Anglo-Saxon race of 60 millions of people who work like beavers, *developing* your property and adding to its value every day.”

MINING ROYALTIES.

In Great Britain mining royalties are of three kinds :—

1. **Dead Rents.**—These are paid by all mines. The landlord stipulates that a certain amount of minerals must be extracted every year and exacts payment on that basis. The mineowner has got to pay for this amount whether he mines so much or not. In the first few years of working, mines do not usually yield the quantity on which dead rents are payable, and in some cases the lessee is allowed to make up for this deficiency by rising above the maximum output in later years without extra royalty. As a rule this privilege of “working shorts ” only extends for five or seven years, and if at the end of that period the shortage is not overtaken the lessee must bear the loss.

2. **A Fixed or Scale Payment per ton, or per foot per acre of Minerals worked.**—This is in addition to the dead rent. For coal it varies from 4d. to 2/- per ton, and for iron ore from 6d. to 6/-. When based on a sliding scale, it may vary from one-tenth to one-thirtieth of the selling price at the mouth of the mine.

3. **Way Leaves.**—This is a payment for right of way. It may happen that after coal or other minerals have been mined they must be conveyed over or under land not included in the working area of the mine. For this privilege the landlord exacts the highest possible sum he can obtain.

These three tolls are usually combined in one tonnage charge on all minerals extracted.

THE BURDEN ON INDUSTRY.

The exact amount levied by landlordism in the form of royalties is uncertain, but Mr. Lloyd George's estimate is £8,000,000 per annum, a very conservative estimate. The average amount of royalty is estimated :—

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Iron Ore—on every ton brought | | | | |
| to surface | ... | ... | ... | 2/6 |
| Coal—on every ton brought to | | | | |
| surface | ... | ... | ... | 9d. |

The result of these taxes on raw material is that on every ton pig-iron and steel produced the following royalties have been paid :—

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Pig-iron | ... | ... | ... | 7/- |
| Steel Rails | ... | ... | ... | 10/- |

The selling price of steel rails varied from £4 to £6 15s. in the last five years; but the tribute to idleness remained the same whether prices were good or bad.

Speaking at West Hartlepool, on September 14th, 1909, Sir Christopher Furness, M.P., said that the companies in which he was interested had in 10 years paid £761,000 to landlords for mining royalties and way leaves—£76,100 a year or £1,500 a week. In the period one company alone had paid for royalties and way leaves £306,952.

In the House of Commons on September 22nd, 1909, Mr. A. B. Markham, the member for Mansfield, gave from his own personal experience some striking illustrations of how colliery owners were subjected to the predatory attacks of the peers. Fourteen years ago, at an expense of £500,000, the Wigan Coal and Iron Company sank a colliery from which they have not as yet made a single farthing, but they have paid away in royalties to the Duke of Newcastle over £100,000. From one colliery alone in the Mansfield district the Duke of Portland draws £50,000 per year in royalties. Mr. Markham said that he was interested in a quarry where the landlord drew £1,500 an acre for the clay extracted.

SOME INSTRUCTIVE ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE GORRINGE CASE.

In 1903 Messrs. Gorringe applied to their landlord, the Duke of Westminster, for a renewal of the lease of their business premises at Westminster. His Grace consented—on the following terms:—The ground rent of the old premises was increased from £350 to £4,000 per annum, a separate rent of £1,200 for the site of four new buildings, a cash fine of £50,000, and an undertaking to remodel part of the premises at a cost of £50,000.

A TARIFF REFORMER'S TOLL.

At Felixstowe, Messrs. Tollemache, the brewers, bought an acre and a half of "undeveloped" land, paying only a few shillings in rates and taxes for a hotel. The toll demanded by the landlord, Capt. Pretyma, a Member of the last Tory Administration, was £2,000, and an additional £500 when the licence was granted. "IDLENESS AND IMPOSTURE!"

Referring to the old English Poor Law, in his *Unseen Foundations of Society*, the late Duke of Argyll said:—"Any law which gives to one set of men a right to live on the industry and property of others starts of necessity a spirit of idleness and imposture on the one side and not less certainly evokes a spirit of suspicion and resistance on the other." In 1901 the present Duke sold to the War Office as a site for a fort to strengthen the defences of the Clyde 52 acres of land rated at £60 a year for £14,500, or rather more than 240 years' purchase!

BUCCLEUCH'S BARGAIN.

The Town Council of Edinburgh required land for a gasworks at Granton. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch let them have 105 acres (rated on an average at £5 10s.) for £124,000, equal to 214 years' purchase.

A STARTLING FIGURE.

Six years ago some offices at the junction of Old Broad Street and Threadneedle Street, in the City of London, were sold, the price for the freehold being £210,000, or nearly £70 per square foot, which works out at £3,049,200 per acre.

£15,790 AN ACRE!

In 1899 the London County Council went to Parliament for powers to purchase Albert Square Gardens, Limehouse, to preserve it as an open space. After arbitration the Council was obliged to pay £10,560 for two-thirds of an acre or £15,790 an acre.

£30 PER FOOT.

According to *The Times* of March 20th, 1909, the Corporation of London paid £30 per foot for the site of a fruit stall in Ship Tavern Passage, Gracechurch Street.

A TAX ON WATER.

Mr. Walter Long, M.P., has just completed a deal in land which the Westbury (Wilts) Rural District Council required to provide a water supply for the parish of Steeple Ashton. The market value of land in this district is £70 per acre, yet the price exacted by this Tariff Reform stalwart was £970 for an acre and three-quarters. In addition it was stipulated that Mr. Long should be paid a royalty on all water sold outside the parish.

2,452 YEARS' PURCHASE.

In answer to questions asked in the House of Commons in February and November, 1908, it was stated that when the Admiralty purchased $14\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land near Greenock from Sir Mark Shaw-Stewart for a torpedo range the price exacted by that sturdy patriot was £27,225, or about 2,452 years' purchase at its rated value of £11 2s. 0½d.

AN ABSENTEE LANDLORD.

In 50 years the ground rent of Burton-on-Trent increased from £2,000 to £70,000. An absentee landlord, the Marquis of Anglesey, draws every penny of it, and pays in rates only £78.

THE LORD OF SHEFFIELD.

The greater part of Sheffield belongs to the Duke of Norfolk. A draper in that city held a lease from the Duke at £5 is. per annum. Six and a half years before it fell in the Duke granted a renewal on condition that the tenant surrendered the unexpired part of his lease, paid a rent of £150 a year instead of £5 is., spent £1,000 in improving the building, and continued to pay all the rates.

THE "POOR BUT HONEST" PEERS AND THEIR TAXES.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Threatened (August 3rd, at Welbeck) to reduce his wages bill should the Budget pass. He owns 183,199 acres of land, five mansions, and draws from land a rental modestly estimated at £100,000, whilst his income from mining royalties is unknown, but Mr. Markham, M.P., stated in Parliament that from one colliery in Mansfield alone the Duke draws £50,000 a year for royalties!

EARL DERBY.

Says he must curtail his charitable contributions. Owns 63,834 acres, the rental being officially estimated 34 years ago at £170,268. As Lord Stanley, the present Earl's chief claim to fame is a speech in which he stigmatised postal servants as "bloodsuckers and black-mailers." Family has made some pretty smart deals in land. In 1843, for 1,000 linear yards of frontage to the river Mersey required for dock extension at Liverpool, £17,500 was paid to the Derby family. Four years later a similar deal enriched the family by £90,000!

LORD LONDONDERRY.

Threatens to cease "to send out consignments of game as presents" for the unemployed. Owns 61,478 acres and three mansions. Owner of several collieries, drawing large sums from mining royalties, and is a director of three public companies. From 1900 to 1906 drew £5,000 a year as a Tory Cabinet Minister. For the privilege of admission to Wynyard Park, his Durham estate, Sunday School outings, treats, etc., are charged at the rate of 1½d. per head for children and 2d. per head for adults.

THE BOLD BUCCLEUCH.

Unquestionably the prince of non-subscribing peers is the Duke of Buccleuch. His factor intimated to the Nithsdale Football Club that because of the land taxes in the Budget an occasional subscription to the club funds (from 10s. to £1) could not be repeated. At the same time his Grace took advantage of the Old Age Pensions Act to reduce the allow-

ances of the old retainers on the Drumlanrig estate from 14/- to 7/6. The Duke owns 459,260 acres, with estates in twelve counties, and seven mansions, and is a director of three companies.

A LESSER LIGHT.

Mr. Maryon-Wilson, a Sussex landowner, sent to his tenants and workpeople a printed notification to the effect that should the Budget become law the following results would accrue :—

Number of workmen on estate would be reduced.

Sick pay and Christmas beef would cease.

Charitable subscriptions would be curtailed or cancelled.

THE DIARY OF A DUKE.

The following are "red-letter" days in the history of the Duke of Northumberland :—

May 11th, 1909.—Occupied the chair at the dinner of the Royal Sanitary Institute, and proposed the health of that body, of which he is president.

September 21st, 1909.—In support of an amendment moved in the Lords, to destroy the Housing and Town Planning Bill, he argued that: "The provision of cottages is not an urgent matter, and it is much more important that owners should be safely guarded in the possession of their property."

October 2nd, 1909.—The Northumberland County Bench granted an order for the closing of 22 cottages owned by the Duke in the colliery village of Walbottle, on the ground that they were unfit for human habitation. The cottages were all back-to-back, some of the floors were below the street level, and as the roadway sloped towards the houses there was a natural flow of water in that direction. During the last 15 years the death-rate in these houses was 25 per 1,000, as against 15 per 1,000 in the district.

October 4th, 1909.—In the House of Lords the Duke returned to the attack on the Housing Bill with an amendment providing that insanitary rooms should not be closed unless used for sleeping in.

The Countryside.

AGRICULTURE.

Acreage of corn crops in the United Kingdom :—

| Year. | | | | Total Corn Crops. |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| 1875 | ... | ... | ... | 11,399,030 |
| 1885 | ... | ... | ... | 10,014,625 |
| 1895 | ... | ... | ... | 8,865,379 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 8,350,796 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 8,317,413 |

Acreage under grasses and clover, etc., has remained about stationary.

Permanent pastures :—

| Year. | | | | Acreage. |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| 1875 | ... | ... | ... | 23,772,602 |
| 1905 | ... | ... | ... | 28,865,373 |
| 1906 | ... | ... | ... | 27,446,739 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 27,411,720 |

Small fruit :—

| | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 1890 | ... | ... | ... | 46,733 |
| 1895 | ... | ... | ... | 74,920 |
| 1907 | ... | ... | ... | 94,175 |

Woods, coppices, and plantations :—

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|
| 1875 | ... | ... | ... | 2,505,743 |
| 1907 it was | ... | ... | ... | 3,074,904 |

RURAL DEPOPULATION.

The following table from a Local Government Board Report (Cd. 4671, p. 6) shows that the decrease in the population of rural districts is due to migration :—

| | | | | In 12 Rural Districts. |
|--|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| Population, 1901 | ... | ... | ... | 1,330,319 |
| Actual increase in census since 1891 | ... | ... | ... | 25,492 |
| Natural increase (births minus deaths) | ... | ... | ... | 150,437 |
| Decrease due to migration | | | | 124,945 |

According to the Census of 1901 the numbers of persons engaged in agriculture and fishing since 1861 are as follows :—

| Year. | Persons. | | Percentage of the Population. | |
|-------|----------|-----------|-------------------------------|------|
| 1861 | ... | 2,010,454 | ... | 21.2 |
| 1871 | ... | 1,657,138 | ... | 16.8 |
| 1881 | ... | 1,383,184 | ... | 13.8 |
| 1891 | ... | 1,336,045 | ... | 11.6 |
| 1901 | ... | 1,152,495 | ... | 9.5 |

The total population increased from 20,066,224 in 1861 to 32,527,843 in 1901.

ONE OF ITS CAUSES.

“The conclusion is that this difficulty of obtaining land is one of the chief causes for rural depopulation. There is a volume of evidence collected by impartial inquiries within the past 50 years or more to enforce this proposition, whilst there has been ample evidence placed before the Committee to confirm all previous inquiries that disinclination exists on the part of many landowners to sell, lease, or part with their land in any way for such purposes.”—Report of Select Committee in Housing of the Working Classes Act on Housing Bill, 1906.

“LIBERTY” IN RURAL ENGLAND.

At the Trades Congress, at Ipswich, September, 1909, Mr. George Edwards, C.C., the Secretary of the Eastern Counties Agricultural Labourers' Union, produced the following agreement, which the tenants of a certain Norfolk landlord have to sign before entering a cottage:—

“I, the undersigned, agree to hire a cottage in the vicinity of —, the property of — at a rental of —, and agree to give up the cottage at a week's notice should the landlord require it for any other workman. I also agree not to keep any pigs or fowl, without first obtaining permission from the landlord or his agent. I will also act as night watchman when required, and give any information in my power that will lead to the conviction of anyone seen poaching on the estate. I also undertake not to harbour any of my family who may misconduct themselves in any way. I agree also on leaving my cottage to first hand over my copper and oven to the landlord or his agent, and not to disturb the bricks or remove these utensils until the landlord or his agent have refused to purchase them. I will also undertake to live at peace with my neighbours, and to lead an honest and respectable life. I will, before admitting any of my family home, apply to the landlord or his agent for permission, giving particulars, on a form provided by the landlord, of their names and ages, also if married or single, and how long they want to stay.”

False and Imperfect Remedies.

Tariff Reform.

EXPORTS AS A TEST OF PROSPERITY.

In one of his speeches at the outset of his fiscal campaign Mr. Chamberlain said: "It is to our exports—I do not say entirely, but it is mainly to our exports—that we must look as a test of our prosperity." The answer to this is provided by the following table, showing from 1900—(1) the Course of Export Trade (manufactured articles only); (2) the Course of Trade Union Unemployment; (3) the Course of Pauperism.

| Year. | | Manufactured Exports Million £ | Unemployed Trade Unionists: per cent. | Paupers per 1,000 of Population (England and Wales): per cent. |
|----------|-----|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1900 | ... | 228 | 2.9 | 21.1 |
| 1901 | ... | 223 | 3.8 | 21.2 |
| 1902 | ... | 226 | 4.4 | 21.5 |
| 1903 | ... | 234 | 5.1 | 21.6 |
| 1904 | ... | 243 | 6.5 | 22.6 |
| 1905 | ... | 269 | 5.4 | 22.7 |
| 1906 | ... | 305 | 4.1 | 22.7 |
| 1907 | ... | 342 | 4.3 | 22.1 |
| 1908 | ... | 296 | 8.9 | 22.7 |
| Increase | | 68 | 6.0 | 1.6 |

Tariff Reformers claim that an increased export trade will absorb the unemployed. Using Colonial trade as an illustration, Mr. Chamberlain voiced this claim at Glasgow, October 6th, 1903:—

"It has been calculated, and I believe it to be accurate, that £26,000,000 of that trade might come to this country which now goes to Germany or France, or other foreign countries, if a reasonable preference were given to British manufacturers. What does this mean? The Board of Trade assume that of manufactured goods one-half the value is expended on labour. I think it is a good deal more; but take the Board of Trade figures. £13,000,000 a year of new employment. What does that mean to the United Kingdom? It means the employment of 166,000 men at 30s. per week."

The refutation of this claim is to be found in the above table, from which it will be found that although manufactured exports increased by £68,000,000 in eight years, both unemployment and pauperism were more extensive than before.

Tariff Reform does *not* mean “work for all.”

THE FEAR OF IMPORTS.

To those with whom the fear of imports is the beginning of economic wisdom the following table is commended. It shows for the same years (1) Imports of manufactured articles; (2) Percentage of Trade Unionists unemployed:—

| Year. | | Million £. | | Per cent. |
|-------|-----|------------|-----|-----------|
| 1903 | ... | 135.6 | ... | 5.1 |
| 1904 | ... | 136.2 | ... | 6.5 |
| 1905 | ... | 143.5 | ... | 5.4 |
| 1906 | ... | 156.1 | ... | 4.1 |
| 1907 | ... | 154.9 | ... | 4.3 |

Since 1903 there has been an *increase* of over £19,000,000 and a *decrease* of 0.8 per cent. in unemployment. If imports be the cause of unemployment, how are these figures to be explained?

A DEVICE FOR TAXING THE POOR.

If Tariff Reform is to find “Work for All,” it can only be by shutting out imports of foreign goods. In the latest edition of the Tariff Reform League’s *Speaker’s Handbook* such an intention is indignantly disclaimed as an “infamous lie of the enemy,” and, incidentally, it is admitted that the real object of Tariff Reform is to shift the burden of taxation on to the backs of the poor, by raising revenue from import duties. Replying to the objection “That under Tariff Reform the British manufacturer would have no fear of foreign competition, and would therefore be able to raise prices with impunity,” the *Handbook* says (p. 15):—

“This assumption is quite unjustifiable. In the first place, *Tariff Reform will not, and is not intended to, do away with foreign competition.* Our manufacturers will still have foreign competition to face under Tariff Reform. . . . Tariff Reform also, it must be remembered, proposes, not high Protection, but a moderate scale of duties *in order to provide revenue.*”

UNEMPLOYMENT IN PROTECTED COUNTRIES.

UNITED STATES.

On October 29th, 1908, Mr. John Burns, answering a question asked in the House of Commons as to the number of unemployed in the United States, said: "It is stated in *The Times* of 2nd instant that the number cannot now be less than 3,000,000 to 4,000,000; and I understand that in reports presented to the Civic Convention in New York in April last the number of unemployed mechanics and labourers (excluding farm labourers) was given as 4,750,000."—*Monthly Notes on Tariff Reform* (official organ of Tariff Reform League), December, 1908, p. 451.

The last report of the New York State Department of Labour gives the following particulars of Trade Unionist unemployment in the State of New York:—

| Year. | Unemployed continuously throughout January to March. | | Unemployed on the last day of March. | |
|-------|--|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| 1897 | 35,381 | 24.8 | 43,664 | 30.6 |
| 1898 | 18,102 | 10.1 | 37,857 | 21.0 |
| 1899 | 22,658 | 13.1 | 31,751 | 18.3 |
| 1900 | 22,895 | 10.1 | 44,336 | 20.0 |
| 1901 | 26,841 | 11.3 | 42,244 | 18.5 |
| 1902 | 16,776 | 6.2 | 36,710 | 13.6 |
| 1903 | 19,310 | 5.5 | 41,941 | 12.1 |
| 1904 | 55,710 | 14.6 | 103,995 | 27.2 |
| 1905 | 31,638 | 8.7 | 54,916 | 15.1 |
| 1906 | 24,746 | 6.5 | 37,237 | 9.9 |
| 1907 | 55,624 | 13.8 | 77,270 | 19.1 |
| 1908 | 101,466 | 26.3 | 138,131 | 35.7 |
| 1909 | 50,477 | 14.3 | 74,543 | 21.1 |

The United States Census gives the number of persons who have been unemployed during the previous twelve months. The percentages of wage and salary earners returned as unemployed at last two censuses were:—

1890 ... 15.1 per c. 1900 ... 22.3 per c.

In the 1900 census the numbers unemployed and the duration of their unemployment are given:—

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----------|
| 1 to 3 months ... | ... | 3,177,753 |
| 4 to 6 months ... | ... | 2,554,925 |
| 7 to 12 months ... | ... | 736,286 |

Total ... 6,468,964

GERMANY.

A census was taken on November 17th, 1908, for the Statistical Department of the City of Berlin, in association with the trade unions, of the unemployed in Berlin and its suburbs. The results of the census show that in Berlin proper, with a population of just over 2,000,000, there are to-day 29,124 persons out of employment. . . . The total number of unemployed in Berlin and its suburbs, with a population of about 3,000,000, is thus 40,124. It is not claimed that these figures are anything more than an approximation, *for numbers of unemployed did not for one reason or another register their names.* . . . Assuming the wage-earning population to be one-fourth of the total population, we arrive at the fact that the rate of unemployment in Berlin is less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.”—*Monthly Notes on Tariff Reform*, December, 1908, p. 414.

The *Board of Trade Labour Gazette*, February, 1909, gives the following particulars of unemployment in certain German trade unions at end of December, 1908:—

| Name of Union. | Percentage Unemployed. |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Metal-workers | 4.2 |
| Engineers and Metal-workers ... | 2.6 |
| Wood-workers | 9.0 |
| Printers | 4.9 |

RURAL DECAY IN PROTECTIONIST PARADISES.

In view of the oft-repeated assertion that agriculture only declines in Free Trade countries, the percentages of persons engaged in agriculture in the United States, Germany, France, etc., are interesting:—

UNITED STATES (*Agriculture*).

| Year. | Percentage of the Population. |
|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 1880 | 44.3 |
| 1890 | 37.7 |
| 1900 | 35.7 |

FRANCE (*Agriculture*).

| | |
|-------------|----|
| 1866 | 52 |
| 1896 | 47 |

GERMANY (*Agriculture and Fishing*).

| | |
|-------------|------|
| 1882 | 46.7 |
| 1895 | 39.9 |

AUSTRIA (*Agriculture*).

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 1890 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 62.5 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 58.2 |

SWEDEN (*Agriculture and Fishing*).

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1880 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 71.87 |
| 1890 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60.92 |
| 1900 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55.32 |

“Irrespective of tariff policy, density of population, land tenure or manufacturing development, agricultural protection, combined with a large retention of small land-owners as in France and Germany, the possession of a large export trade in agricultural produce, as in the United States, retard, but do not cancel, the operation of the tendency.”—J. A. HOBSON in *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 393.

THE STEEL TRADE AND FOREIGN COMPETITION.

“Throughout 1904 negotiations had been proceeding between British and German steelmakers for the avoidance of unprofitable competition, and in November an agreement was signed between the rail-makers of Britain, Germany, Belgium, and France. To each country its own territory was assigned, and the export trade was syndicated for three years on the basis of 1,300,000 tons annually at a minimum price of £4 7s. per ton. The following percentages of the trade were to be allotted each country :—

| | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Britain | ... | ... | ... | 53.50 |
| Germany | ... | ... | ... | 28.83 |
| Belgium | ... | ... | ... | 17.67 |

In addition, British makers were allowed priority in British possessions. British firms affected were : Cammell's; Guest, Keen and Nettlefold's; Barrow Haematite; Bolckow's; Moss Bay; Ebbw Vale; North-Eastern; Walter Scott; Steel, Peech, and Tozer. At the time of this agreement British prices for steel rails were £4 a ton. Prices rapidly rose :—

| | | | | Per ton. |
|--|-----|----|----|----------|
| Fixed by agreement, 1904 | ... | £4 | 7 | 0 |
| January, 1905 | ... | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| July, 1905, agreement extended to U.S.A. | ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| End of 1905 | ... | 5 | 17 | 6 |
| End of 1906 | ... | 6 | 12 | 6 |

(From Macrosty's *Trust Movement in British Industry*, p. 65.)

TARIFF REFORM MEANS HIGHER PRICES.

Theory and practice alike testify to the fact that Tariff Reform means higher prices for the necessities and luxuries of life. The theory has been well explained by Mr. A. J. Balfour at Edinburgh on October 4th, 1904 :—

“The object of Protection is to encourage home industry. The means by which it attains that object is by the manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices. If the home prices are not raised the industry is not encouraged. If the industry is encouraged, it is by the raising of prices. That is in a nutshell Protection properly understood.”

The practice is illustrated by the everyday experience in protected countries. Writing in August, 1909, the New York correspondent of *The Times* says :—

“Between July 1st, 1896, and July 1st, 1909, breadstuffs and live-stock have nearly doubled in price, provisions, fruits, hides, and leather have increased 50 per cent., textiles 60. Flour costs 100 per cent. more, beef 80 per cent., pork 150 per cent., mutton 125 per cent., hams 33 per cent., bacon 170 per cent., lard 180 per cent. Since the beginning of the year flour has risen nearly 60 per cent., pork and mutton 20 per cent., hams almost 10 per cent., butter 18 per cent., and coffee 25 per cent.”

The Report of the Tariff Commission on the Iron and Steel Trade contains the following notable evidence given by Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, the Secretary of the British Iron Trade Association (Pars. 1106-1108) :—

“While the German Coke Syndicate asked 15s. per ton at home, it simultaneously effected heavy sales abroad at 11s. per ton. The Rail Syndicate is said to have sold rails to foreigners 30s. cheaper than to German customers. The Union of German Wire Manufacturers sold in the second half of 1900 at home 22,000 tons, with a profit of £58,850; to foreign parts 19,000 tons, with a loss of £42,950—i.e., it received on the home market £12 10s.

per ton, and sold to the foreign country the same quantity for £7. This policy not unreasonably formed the subject of a complaint addressed to the Government by the shipping yards on the Lower Rhine, declaring that they could no longer compete with Holland, which received the German material at much lower prices."

"Again, . . . the Courts at Gottesburg had evidence brought before them that the Coke Syndicate had sold to Austria blast furnace coke at 8/1 per ton, while charging 17/- at home."

"In the home and export prices for German steel in 1903 there is a difference of 41/6 in favour of the foreigner in the case of rails; of 20/- in the case of sheets; of 13/6 in the case of bars; and of 11/- in the case of angles."

CHILD LIFE IN PROTECTED AMERICA.

An inquiry has been made by the Chicago Board of Education regarding underfed school children. It is found that 5,000 public school children in the city are habitually hungry, while 10,000 specific cases have been examined and reported on by the Child-Study Department. The report says :—

"We find that a large number of children have only bread saturated in water for breakfast, day after day; that the noon meal is bread or bananas and an occasional luxury of soup made from pork bones; that children often frequent South Water Street, begging for dead fowl in crates or decayed fruits; that others have been found searching for food in alley garbage boxes. Several cases were reported where hungry children at school picked up crusts of bread or fragments of lunch which other children had thrown away. Children often go to school breakfastless, and at times go to bed hungry. Some children have admitted that they have almost forgotten the taste of butter; that lard has become the substitute, and meat an occasional memory. A few went without food for over 24 hours last winter."

SOME FISCAL PARADOXES.

“There is reason to think that our iron and steel industries will mightily develop when the dumping of foreign iron and steel is stopped.”—J. ELLIS BARKER’S *101 Points Against Free Trade*, Point 58.

“Tariff Reformers have no intention to put a duty on the raw materials used by our shipbuilders. At present our shipbuilders benefit frequently by working cheap foreign dumped steel into their ships. They need not lose the advantage of being able to use foreign steel sold below cost price. Great Britain can follow Germany’s example, and allow our shipyards to import duty free as much dumped steel as they like.”—*101 Points Against Free Trade*, Point 69.

“No industry has suffered so much from free imports as agriculture, and no industry has been so completely the victim of the miscalculations of the original Free Traders.”—MR. CHAMBERLAIN at Cardiff, November 21st, 1903.

“It is *obvious* that imports of *raw material* and *food* cannot cause unemployment.”—Tariff Reform League’s *Notes for Speakers*, December 19th, 1908, p. 372.

“A sufficient Tariff is an absolute protection against dumping. No other method of protection has been suggested.”—Tariff Reform League *Speakers’ Handbook* (page 244).

“It may be noted that Protection does not necessarily secure immunity from dumping. This fact is illustrated in the relations of the United States and Germany in 1899 and 1900, when the United States went a long way in the direction of capturing the German market for steel rails, having exported thither, in 1900, more than 250,000 tons of rails, as well as over 200,000 tons of other steel. In fact, the Germans had then to reckon with American competition quite as much as we had ourselves.”—*Tariff Commission Report on the Iron and Steel Trade* (Evidence of Mr. J. STEPHEN JEANS—par. 1112).

"PEACEFUL PERSUASION" AND OTHER POINTS.

The following examples of how the rich try to coerce the poor into voting for Tariff Reform candidates are instructive :—

FARM HANDS DISMISSED.

Sir Richard P. Cooper, of Shenstone Court, Lichfield, and Ashlyns Hall, Berkhamsted, a prominent Tariff Reformer, says : " If the Budget is passed I will have to discharge about 40 of the men at present engaged on my estate at Shenstone, as well as other men at Berkhamsted and elsewhere. Although I do not say I cannot afford to do it, I do not feel justified in incurring the same expense as hitherto. Moreover, I think that such a course is the best way of bringing home to the working men the effect of legislation of this kind." —*Daily Express*, August, 1909.

The Times of March 10th, 1908, reports Mr. Harold Smith, Tariff Reform candidate for Huddersfield, as " appealing to every man and every woman during the next few months, until the Licensing Bill was killed, to pay not a farthing to any tradesman—he did not care who he was—who was favourable to the Bill."

A CANDID ADMISSION.

Speaking at Preston on September 24th, 1909, Mr. Bonar Law is reported as saying " he opposed the Budget because it placed too much taxation on the well-to-do and not enough upon the poorer classes."

Mr. Law is one of the leading spirits of the Tariff Reform movement. Like all Tariff Reformers, he is a bitter opponent of all Labour legislation. He did all in his power to wreck the Miners' Eight Hours' Day Bill in 1908. He is a director of six public companies.

A SIDE ISSUE.

Viscount Ridley, Chairman of the Tariff Reform League, speaking at Edinburgh, November 7th, 1905, said : " After all, *this question of the definite prosperity of the working man*, important as it was, compared with the development of the Empire *was comparatively a side issue.*"

Thrift.

THE SAVINGS OF THE WORKERS.

TRADE UNIONS.

In 1872 there were 203,732 members of registered Trade Unions, the total annual income being £120,977, the balance at the end of the year totalling £107,290, equivalent to 10s. 6d. per member.

In 1906 the membership had increased to 1,719,031, the annual income to £2,709,665, and the balance at the end of the year to £5,864,392, equivalent to £3 8s. 3d. per member.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

1877.

Ordinary Friendly Societies :—

1,287,670 members ;
£5,211,052 funds ;
£4 0s. 11d. per member.

Branches of Registered Orders :—

1,528,216 members ;
£7,752,050 funds ;
£5 1s. 5d. per member.

Collecting Societies :—

2,439,988 members ;
£1,172,363 funds ;
9s. 7d. per member.

1905.

Ordinary Friendly Societies :—

3,226,672 members ;
£18,056,640 funds ;
£5 11s. 11d. per member.

Branches of Registered Orders :—

2,673,246 members ;
£23,888,491 funds ;
£8 18s. 9d. per member.

Collecting Societies :—

7,884,307 members ;
£8,469,767 funds ;
£1 1s. 6d. per member.

SAVINGS BANKS.

The total deposits in the Trustee Savings Banks and in the Post Office increased from nearly 29 millions to over 209½ millions from 1850 to 1907 ; or from £1 1s. to £4 15s. 1d. per head of the population ; while if the value of Government stock held for depositors be included, the figure for 1907 becomes 232½ millions, or £5 5s. 6d. per head of the population.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* for November, 1908, gives the following particulars of the Co-operative movement in 1907 :—

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Number of Societies | 1,541 |
| Total membership | 2,352,814 |
| Percentage of total population | |
| over 20 years of age | 10.3 |
| Total capital | £45,131,840 |
| Capital per head of mem- | |
| bers | £19 3s. 8d. |

As showing the insignificance of this as compared with the total accumulated wealth of the United Kingdom in the same year, the following figures from Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money's *Riches and Poverty* are instructive :—

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Capitalised wealth of the | |
| United Kingdom ... | £11,413,000,000 |
| Per head of population | £300 |

PROFIT-SHARING.

According to the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* for February, 1909, the number of firms practising profit-sharing in 1908 was 49. In 1907 the number of persons employed by these firms varied from 62,194 to 64,607. The bonus paid on wages was 6.4 per cent. in 1907, against 6.6 per cent. in 1906.

The chief profit-sharing concern in the United Kingdom is the late Sir George Livesey's Metropolitan Gas Company. In 1903, after the scheme had had 14 years' trial, the total holdings of the 4,000 men affected were £170,000, which worked out at £40 per man, or about £3 per annum. This is equivalent to 1s. 1d. per week increase in wages, and the conditions upon which it was obtained were that "No Trade Unionist need apply," and a reversal to a 12-hour from an 8-hour day.

The Board of Trade reports that in the 15 years, 1894 to 1908, 6 out of 50 profit-sharing schemes known to exist in the United Kingdom were abandoned, the reasons given being, among others, "Dissatisfaction of employees with results," 3; "Depression of Trade," 1; "Liquidation," 1; and "Increased Wages," 1.—*Labour Gazette*, February, 1909.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

The Labour Party.

THE REASON FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

The Labour Party, formed as a Federation of Trade Unionists and Socialists in 1900, is to-day the soundest expression of organised working-class opinion. The Party comes with a fresh mind and a unique experience to deal with the questions that affect the social condition of the people. A never-ending industrial conflict which necessitates standing armies of capital and labour, which drags into its heated and noisy vortex Press and Pulpit, Law Court and Parliament, and which throws out a constant stream of maimed, wounded, and shattered humanity; an unjust distribution of wealth, and an unfair apportionment between effort and reward; widespread poverty and misery; the dominance of material possessions over men—these are the problems which the Party has been formed to face. Legislation based upon the industrial experience of the wage-earners is for the good of the whole nation and not merely for the benefit of a class, though certain anti-social and sectional interests may suffer. The Party has brought into the national life a new conception of constructive political policies, by its appeal in the country it seeks to rouse the people to a sense of social duty, and in Parliament it voices the claims of the industrious classes of the community.

NINE YEARS' PROGRESS.

The statistical story of the Party's advance may be gathered from the following figures :—

| Year. | | Affiliated Membership. | M.P.s. | Election Vote. |
|----------|-----|---------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| 1900 | ... | 353,070 | 2 | 62,698 |
| 1906 | ... | 904,496 | 30 | 323,195 |
| 1909 | ... | 1,500,000 | 33 | 333,602 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Increase | | 1,146,930 | 31 | 270,904 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |

The Labour Party's Work.

THE FEEDING OF NECESSITOUS SCHOOL CHILDREN.

When in 1906 the Labour Party appeared in Parliament, 30 strong, one of the first measures they introduced was one which sought to lay upon local authorities the obligation to feed the underfed school children under their care. The Bill secured a second reading in the House of Commons and was remitted to a Select Committee, where it was considerably amended. On the initiative of the Labour representative on the Committee it was laid down that parents of children obtaining meals under the Act should not be disfranchised. An attempt to make the measure compulsory was defeated, and when the Bill reached the House of Lords, the Peers, despite the optional character of its provisions, refused to allow the Bill to apply to Scotland. The Act is at present in operation in upward of 50 districts, and renewed endeavours have been made to make the measure compulsory.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS.

When the usefulness of Trade Unions as industrial combinations was destroyed by the famous Taff Vale judgment, repeated attempts were made in the last Parliament to amend the law without success. This issue formed one of the chief demands of the Labour movement in 1906, and on the assembling of the new Parliament the Party introduced a Bill for the purpose of safeguarding the Unions against the encroachments of the employers. The Government introduced a measure with a similar object, but its terms were so unsatisfactory that the Party persisted in pressing forward its own Bill, and succeeded in gaining legislation acceptable to the Trade Unions. The political independence of the Party was thus justified in its very first attempt at industrial legislation.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

For years the cry of Old Age Pensions had been bandied about at elections without any serious attempt being made to translate the many generous promises into legislation. During its first session (1906) the Party tabled a motion in favour of Pensions which was carried. Again, in 1907, the King's Speech contained no reference to Pensions, and the Party moved an amendment demanding legislation, which was defeated by 207 votes to 47. Reference was similarly made to the matter in 1908, and when, later on, the Government's promised Bill appeared, the Party endeavoured to secure amendments to its many unsatisfactory provisions. Unsuccessful attempts were made to reduce the pensionable age from 70 to 65, to remove the pauper disqualification, and to secure 5s. as the minimum pension in place of the existing sliding scale. The provision whereby the Government sought to reduce the pensions of aged couples living together was the subject of Party criticism, and, as a result, was abolished. Other important amendments tabled by the Party were never reached owing to the vigorous use of the Closure by the Government.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

No question has been so persistently raised in Parliament by the Party as that of Unemployment. Since the last General Election it has been raised by the Party on the following occasions :—

1906 : April 11th.—Raised by J. Keir Hardie on motion for adjournment.

May 30th.—G. N. Barnes demanded assurance that something should be done during session ; supported by W. Thorne, J. Keir Hardie, and W. Crooks.

July 19th.—Raised again by J. Ramsay MacDonald and W. Crooks ; £200,000 grant promised by Government.

1907 : March 27th.—Raised on motion for adjournment by J. Keir Hardie and J. R. Clynes.

July 9th.—“ Right to Work ” Bill introduced by J. Ramsay MacDonald.

1908 : January 30th.—Amendment to the Address moved by J. Ramsay MacDonald, seconded by P. Curran, and supported by P. Snowden and W. Crooks. Defeated by 195 to 146.

March 13th.—Unemployed Workmen Bill; second reading opposed by Messrs. Maddison and Vivian on behalf of Government and defeated by 265 to 116.

July 27th.—Raised on Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

July 29th.—Raised on Civil Service Estimates.

August 1st.—Raised on Appropriation Bill.

October 12th.—Raised by question to Premier from Mr. A. Henderson. Early statement promised.

October 15th.—Mr. Henderson's question repeated.

October 20th.—Raised again, and Government statement promised next day.

October 21st.—Party pressed for day to discuss proposals put forward by Government.

October 26th.—Government proposals discussed; Party's amendment declaring inadequacy of proposals defeated by 266 to 68.

November 12th.—Mr. Henderson moved adjournment of House to call attention to discrepancy between promises of Premier and Mr. Burns's circular giving effect to them. Party's position vindicated and offending circular withdrawn.

December 8th.—Party introduced amending Bill to enable localities to receive assistance from the Parliamentary Grant for the Unemployed apart from the creation of Distress Committees.

1909 : February 17th.—Amendment to Address moved by Party, but defeated by 205 to 101.

March 1st.—Raised by Party on Estimates.

March 2nd.—Again raised.

April 30th.—Second reading of Party's Unemployed Workmen Bill; rejected by 228 to 115.

THE EIGHT HOURS' DAY FOR MINERS.

In the first session of the Parliament of 1906 the Labour Party did all that was possible to promote the passage of the Eight Hours' Bill introduced on behalf of the Miners' Federation. The second reading was carried, but as the Government declined to afford facilities for its consideration no material progress was made. In 1907 the Bill was introduced by the Party and a pledge was secured from the Government that legislation would be forthcoming at an early date. The following year the Government Bill was produced, and many necessary amendments were moved by the Party when the measure reached the Committee stage. An amendment providing that the Bill should not apply to districts where the hours were already less than eight, moved by the Party, met with the strong opposition of the Government, and was defeated.

The Party unsuccessfully resisted the attempt of the Government to exempt from the measure workmen below ground for the purpose of (amongst other things) "dealing with any emergency or exceptional work which requires to be dealt with without interruption in order to avoid serious interference with ordinary work in the mine."

They unsuccessfully opposed clause 3, which provides that on 60 days of the year an extra hour may be worked.

On the ground that it might be given too wide an interpretation, they resisted the proposal that the Act be suspended in view of "great emergency, or in the event of any grave economic disturbance due to the demand for coal exceeding the supply," but were unsuccessful.

The Miners' Eight Hour Bill was first introduced over 20 years ago, but not until Labour sat as an independent force in Parliament was it placed on the Statute Book.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

When introduced in 1906 the Government Bill was so limited in extent that it only applied to about 2,000,000 workers. When it passed it applied to 6,000,000.

The Government first of all excluded shop assistants, but after pressure from the Labour Party agreed to their inclusion when the number employed was more than three. The Party declined this compromise, and in the end the Government gave way.

The Government proposed that compensation should not be payable until a week had elapsed from the date of the accident. The Labour Party carried an amendment in Committee that it should begin at the end of three days. At a later stage this was altered by agreement with the Party, so that if the incapacity of the injured workman lasts longer than two weeks, compensation shall date from the day of the accident.

The Party also succeeded in carrying an amendment that an illegitimate child or the parent or grandparent of an illegitimate child, if dependent upon the injured workman, should rank as a dependant.

The Party sought to add a provision that where an injured workman has sufficiently recovered to be able to perform some light and less remunerative employment, reduced compensation shall not take place unless he is able to obtain such employment, but were unsuccessful.

The Government only proposed to schedule six "diseases of occupation" for the purposes of the Act, but the Labour Party secured a pledge that this would be increased.

FIGHTING A MONSTROUS AMENDMENT.

In Committee the Party were called upon to resist an amendment moved by Mr. Robert Balfour, shipowner and Liberal M.P. for Partick, which provided that—

“No claim for compensation shall be allowed in the case of any seaman whose injury or death is due—

(1) To accidents arising out of the rendering of salvage services to property for which the seaman may be entitled to special reward.

(2) To collision with a foreign ship due to the fault of that ship.

(3) To collision with a ship belonging to the Crown, or with a ship belonging to a foreign State, due in either case to the fault of such ship.

(4) *To accidents arising out of efforts to save human life voluntarily rendered by the seaman.*

(5) To accidents arising out of the fault of a pilot compulsorily employed, or the fault of a harbour-master, or other official whose orders are bound by law to be obeyed.

(6) To causes arising out of a state of war.”

Fortunately the Party's opposition led to the withdrawal of this amendment.

A BRIEF SUMMARY.

The following are a few of the other questions raised in various ways by the Party in Parliament since the General Election of 1906 :—

Factories and Workshops.—Unsatisfactory method of appointing Factory Inspectors raised by Messrs. MacDonald, Gill, Jowett, O'Grady, Richards, and Shackleton. In response to pressure from Party the Government in 1908 appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the subject of accidents in factories and workshops.

Hours of Labour.—In addition to Miners' Bill the Party raised the questions by means of a Bill restricting the hours in bakehouses to eight. On several occasions they raised the question of the excessively long hours of railway servants, and in 1906 their resolution demanding reduction was carried.

House of Lords.—Party moved amendment to Government's resolution on the Lords, demanding abolition.

Russian Atrocities.—In 1908 the Party entered an emphatic protest against the King's visit to the Czar in order to call attention to treatment of political prisoners in Russia, and in 1909 the question was again raised by a protest against the Czar's visit to England.

Sweated Industries.—In 1908 the Party was responsible for the introduction of the Wages Boards Bill. The immediate outcome of this was the Government Bill of 1909.

Press and Local Authorities.—Through Mr. Henderson the Party was instrumental in securing the passage of a Bill establishing the right of the Press to be present at all ordinary meetings of Local Authorities.

Fair Wages.—The Party frequently raised the question of the unsatisfactory working of the Fair Wages Clause in Government contracts. A Select Committee was appointed, and as a result the Clause has been amended, though not to the entire satisfaction of the Party.

Cromer Grant.—In 1907 the Party opposed the proposed grant of £50,000 to Lord Cromer.

Compulsory Weighing and Measurements.—A Bill was introduced in 1907 by the Party applying the principle of the "Particulars" Clause of the Factory and Workshops Act and appointing checkweighmen in certain industries, particularly iron and steel smelting. After the second reading of the Bill, the Government agreed to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the whole subject.

Coal Mines Regulation.—A Bill was introduced in 1906 by J. Keir Hardie, but on second reading it was “talked out.”

Hours in Shops.—In 1907 the Party moved and carried a resolution declaring for more drastic legislation respecting earlier closing of shops and the reduction of shop assistants’ hours.

London Rating.—In 1907 the Party moved and carried a resolution calling for immediate legislation equalising the incidence of rates between the various rating areas in London.

Rights of Way.—On behalf of the Party J. Ramsay MacDonald introduced, in 1907, a Bill to safeguard the interests of the public regarding rights of way. The Government refused facilities, and no further progress was made.

Blacklegs in Trade Disputes.—In 1906 the Party promoted a Bill to prevent the importation of foreign blacklegs into this country during trade disputes, but after passing through all stages in the Commons it was rejected by the Lords. In the next session the Party promoted a Bill to stop the enlistment of British subjects as strike-breakers at Antwerp and other places, but no progress was made with the Bill.

Sugar and Tea Tax.—On Committee stage of Finance Bills of 1906, 1907, and 1908 the Party supported proposal to reduce duties on tea and sugar.

Some Opinions of the Party.

MR. BALFOUR.

“ I desire to say that in my opinion honourable gentlemen below the gangway (the Labour Party) have very frequently—usually—not merely obeyed the orders of this House, but set an example, which might well be followed in every part of the House, of listening without interruption to arguments and opinions from which they profoundly dissent.”—House of Commons, July 16th, 1909.

“ But I do not agree with the Government; for they have surrendered to the gentlemen below the gangway. I appeal to gentlemen below the gangway themselves, for on them has been thrown upon this occasion the responsibility of giving guidance to this House in not the least difficult position in which the House has found itself. I would ask them whether it is for their interests and for the interests of the class they so powerfully represent. . . . They are perfectly capable of seeing that you ought to deal with these matters on general principles applicable to the whole community, and not applicable only to a particular class. *No man can see an argument more clearly than they.*”—Debate on Trades Disputes Bill, April 25th, 1906.

“ T.P.”

“ The Labour Party has profoundly influenced the present House of Commons, more than it realises itself. It is the sense that there is this power in the background—discontented, independent, hostile—that drives the Government, and that compels it always to keep legislation at the high speed to which it has risen at the present moment. The Labour Party has many faults, and some of its proposals are, to my mind, impracticable; but as an old member of the House of Commons I am bound to say it has given to Parliament a seriousness, a strenuousness, and an effectiveness which rarely, if ever, existed in that assembly before.”—MR. T. P. O’CONNOR, M.P., in *M.A.P.*, August 22nd, 1909.

A LIBERAL M.P.

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, writing in the *Daily News* in May, 1906, said :—

“ It is not too much to say that the “ independence ” of Labour in the House of Commons has proved a triumphant success. I pointed out on the second day of the Session that in the House itself the L.R.C. men, sitting in a body on the Opposition benches below the gangway, have a tactical advantage which is quite out of proportion to their numbers. They look like a party; they are considered as a party; they are consulted as a party; they are a party. And yet there are but 30 of them, all told. The same number of men, in leading strings of the Liberal Party, would be comparatively powerless. Without Whips, without collective action, without the form of party, they would have achieved not a tithe of the work they have done, and enjoyed but a fraction of the opportunity which has been theirs. Take the question of speeches. The Speaker, recognising them as a party, calls upon one or more of them to speak in connection with every question. As a result they have, man for man, out-talked the average Liberal member easily. And having their chance, let me repeat what I have said before, they talk well and are listened to. Then take the very important matter of Committee work. As they are a party it is felt, in the composition of every Committee, that they must be represented. As a consequence the faithful 30 have far more useful work in hand than any 30 men of the Liberal rank and file can boast of.”

SIR JOHN GORST.

In an interview appearing in the *Western Mail* of August 19th, 1909, Sir John Gorst replies to the query, “ What effect has the existence of a strong Labour Party on the development of social questions?” thus : “ It is an immense stimulus to Social Reform because it keeps the Liberals up to the mark of their pledges. I believe the Liberals, like the Conservatives, would not have the energy to carry out social reforms if not stimulated by the Labour members.”

"THE TIMES,"

In a leading article on the South African Union Bill on August 20th, 1909, said :—

"We are glad to acknowledge that both in tone and spirit the speeches delivered during the discussion were worthy of a great occasion in the Parliamentary annals of the country. . . . In no other country, so far as we are aware, are to be seen representatives of the working class using their position in the Legislature, not merely for the advancement of such domestic policies as they may have at heart, but for the assertion of a keen and active interest in the welfare of distant communities of alien race."

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND,

At Leicester, on July 14th, 1909, said :
"Before any good could be done for Unemployment the Labour Members would have to be dealt with. Personally, he would like to put a gag into the mouth of every Labour Member in the country and keep it there." His Grace is an ardent Tariff Reformer, and owns estates in seven counties—about 70,000 acres in all.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

The Right Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang, in a sermon at St. Paul's in 1906, said :—

"But what makes the great contest through which our great nation has passed memorable, is the entry on the stage of our political history of a new power, the power of Labour—united, organised, conscious of its strength. The great dumb mass of our working folk—the hands of our huge industrial machine, the dwellers in the mean streets and crowded tenements—has found its voice; it has exerted its strength, and comes forth challenging attention to its claim. Here are men, at least, who have worked in pit and factory, whose friends are among the dwellers in our overcrowded cities, whose kindred have spent their old age in our workhouses. These men will bring, at least, first-hand knowledge of the facts of life to the study of these problems. They will take care that amid all the business of politics 'the poor shall not always be forgotten, the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever.'"

The International Aspect.

"I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."—Late PROFESSOR HUXLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888.

The Labour Party preserves an international outlook; it recognises that the social problems it has to face at home find their counterpart in the experience of the wage-workers of the Colonies and of foreign nations. It therefore seeks, with other working-class Parties throughout the world, to find common ground for unity and goodwill, holding that a better understanding between the peoples and a constant interchange of thought on industrial and legislative experience will go far to destroy the suspicion and distrust that all too frequently make peace impossible.

THE WORLD'S LABOUR AND SOCIALIST VOTERS.

The latest electoral statistics of the Labour and Socialist Movement throughout the world are as follows :—

| Country. | No. of Socialist & Labour Members. | Total Parliamentary Representatives. | Percentage. | Votes cast for Labour & Socialist Candidates at the last Election. |
|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|--|
| Austria | ... 90 | 510 | 17.6 | 936,673 |
| Finland | ... 83 | 200 | 41.5 | 308,589 |
| France ... | ... 52 | 584 | 8.9 | 877,000 |
| Germany | ... 43 | 397 | 10.9 | 3,259,023 |
| Great Britain* | 47 | 670 | 7.0 | 474,013 |
| Belgium | ... 36 | 166 | 21.7 | — |
| Italy ... | ... 36 | 508 | 7.0 | 325,965 |
| Denmark | ... 24 | 114 | 21.0 | 76,012 |
| Russia ... | ... 16 | 432 | 3.7 | — |
| Sweden | ... 33 | 230 | 14.3 | — |
| Norway | ... 10 | 117 | 8.5 | 45,000 |
| Holland | ... 7 | 100 | 7.0 | 65,743 |
| Chili ... | ... 3 | 94 | 3.1 | 18,000 |
| Switzerland | ... 7 | 167 | 4.1 | 100,000 |
| Servia ... | ... 1 | 160 | 0.6 | 3,133 |
| Argentina | ... 1 | 120 | 0.8 | 3,500 |
| U.S.A. ... | ... — | — | — | 600,000 |

* Includes miners' and other Trade Union candidatures.



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